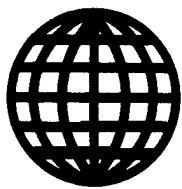


JPRS-NEA-93-075

16 June 1993



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

***INDIA***

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# Near East & South Asia

## INDIA

JPRS-NEA-93-075

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16 June 1993

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## International Affairs

### Foreign Office Releases Statement on Korea

93AS0817A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
27 Mar 93 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, March 26—Interpreting the recent tensions between North and South Korea as a “temporary setback,” India has indicated that it is in favour of the two countries resuming the dialogue aimed at unification. The Foreign Office, in a statement released here on Friday, hoped that the current difficulties and the temporary setback to the inter-Korean dialogue would be got over soon.

New Delhi feels that the reunification of Korea would be “a very important positive factor for world peace, particularly for peace and stability in the Asian region.”

Significantly, the Foreign Office statement has been couched in terms which discourage internationalisation of the issue.

Decision on NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]: Tension has been brewing in the Korean peninsula ever since North Korea announced its decision on March 12 to walk out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Pyongyang has justified its decision, saying that while it has gone out of its way to accommodate Western and South Korean interests, the latter had not reciprocated correspondingly.

North Korea points out that it has thrice allowed U.N. inspectors to probe its nuclear installations (as has been one of the key demands of the West), but South Korea and the United States have turned a blind eye to its demand that the joint military exercises the two countries have been undertaking since 1976 be stopped.

In fact, before the current stand-off which has led the U.S. to announce that it is strongly considering sanctions against North Korea in retaliation to the latter's withdrawal from the NPT, a series of confidence-building measures were taken by the two Koreas to ensure normalisation of bilateral relations.

Inspection of installations: Since May last year, North Korea has allowed the visits of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors to see its installations and U.N. teams have visited several nuclear facilities, including the controversial unit which has been under construction apparently to produce weapon-grade plutonium.

In addition, Western media has reported that North Korea has sent across to the IAEA, a comprehensive list of all its nuclear facilities and in June last year, ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Moreover, to see an end to tensions, North and South Korea had agreed to denuclearise the Korean peninsula and the initiative has included the removal of all land-based nuclear weapons on South Korean soil, installed by the U.S.

Before the current round of tension, the modalities of a bilateral inspection regime—between the two Koreas—were impeding the normalisation of relations.

India has described North Korea's walking out of the NPT as a “sovereign decision.” In addition, New Delhi has cited the NPT review conference slated for 1995 as an opportunity “for the amendments necessary to give the NPT a universal and non-discriminatory character.”

### Strengthening Ties With Mauritius Stressed

93AS0816A Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 4 Apr 93 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, April 3—India reiterated its commitment yesterday to strengthen economic and other relations with Mauritius.

The reaffirmation came in the course of discussions between the President of Mauritius, Mr Cassam Uteem, and Indian leaders, including the President, Dr S.D. Sharma and the Prime Minister, Mr Narasimha Rao.

Speaking at a banquet in honour of Mr Uteem, Dr Sharma noted that the relations between the two countries were based on a commonality of interests and mutual trust. Co-operation between them covered several areas ranging from culture and language to satellite-tracking and computer technology.

The President said India's efforts to integrate its economy into the world market offered new opportunities for a profitable economic partnership with Mauritius. Indian entrepreneurs were already engaged in joint ventures and actively pursuing proposals for investment and technical co-operation. He referred in this context to the timely establishment of a Rs 20-crore revolving fund for promoting joint ventures.

Dr Sharma noted that India and Mauritius shared the ideals of non-alignment and New Delhi looked forward to co-operation in various international fora on issues like disarmament, security and economic development.

He commended the progress made by Mauritius through its liberal economic policies and described it as one of the most remarkable and successful experiments in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic co-existence.

Earlier the Prime Minister called on Mr Uteem and discussed various aspects of bilateral relations as well as regional and international issues of common interest.

Mr Uteem, who is on his first official visit abroad after assuming office, was earlier given a ceremonial reception in the fore-court of Rashtrapati Bhavan, on his arrival on his eight-day visit. He described India as “a country of our forefathers” and described his visit as a pilgrimage. Mr Uteem, who is accompanied by his wife, will visit some towns in Rajasthan and Bangalore before flying back home from Bombay.

**Judge Frames Charges in Bhopal Case**

93AS0829A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 9 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] Bhopal, April 8—The district additional sessions judge, Mr Wajahat Ali Shah, today charged the Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL), its present CMD, Mr Vijay Gokhale and seven others with culpable homicide not amounting to murder in connection with the Bhopal gas disaster, in which over 2,000 people lost their lives and thousands were maimed in December 1984, reports PTI.

Pronouncing his order on the framing of charges under Sections 304(ii), 324, 326 and 429 of the IPC which also relate to voluntarily causing grievous hurt and mischief by killing and poisoning of animals, the judge said he saw no force in the submissions made by the defence counsel and pointed out that arguments of the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] special prosecutor, on the other hand, were backed up with apparent facts.

The judge fixed May 12 for the CBI to submit to the court the trial programme for recording evidence of all the witnesses in the case.

In his 31-page order, the judge also framed charges against noted industrialist and former chairman of UCIL, Mr Keshub Mahindra, the former works manager, Mr J. Mukund, the former assistant works manager, Mr R.B. Roy Choudhury, the former production manager, Mr S.P. Choudhury, the production assistant, Mr S.I. Quereshi, the plant superintendent, Mr K.V. Shetty and the former vice-president incharge, Mr Kishore Kamdar.

The chairman of Union Carbide Corporation at the time of the disaster, Mr Warren Anderson, the Union Carbide Corporation and the Union Carbide (eastern), Hong Kong—the three others accused in the case—have been declared absconders and a case against them was being heard in the court of the chief judicial magistrate.

**Paper Interviews High Commissioner to UK**

93AS0826A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 10 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by Srinivas Laxman]

[Text] Bombay, April 9—The United Kingdom assured India on the day of the Bombay bomb blasts its firm support in tackling terrorism and, if need be, even provide medical help to those injured in the explosions.

This assurance was given by the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, to the Indian high commissioner to the U.K., Dr L.M. Singhvi, a few hours after the news of the March 12 explosions reached the world.

In an exclusive interview to THE TIMES OF INDIA here today, Dr Singhvi recalled that when the news reached the U.K., Mr Major was in Huntingdon, his constituency.

"When Mr Major came to know about it, he immediately telephoned me and expressed his deep concern. He assured me that Britain would stand shoulder-to-shoulder with this country in tackling terrorism and medical problems suffered by those who were victims of the bomb blasts," Dr Singhvi said.

The nearly hour-long interview at Raj Bhavan touched on various aspects of Indo-British relationship and the human rights conference recently held at Bangkok.

Dr Singhvi, who became the Indian high commissioner to the U.K. on April 3, 1991, said that he had made fight against terrorism his chief priority in the diplomatic agenda.

His emphasis in this area yielded results when Britain became the first country to recognise and acknowledge that India was a victim of state-sponsored terrorism.

Dr Singhvi continuously keeping in touch with British authorities on this vital issue. Britain also became the first nation to recognise that there was a strong link between terrorism and narcotic traffic, terrorism and fundamentalism and terrorism and secession.

As a result of this perception Europe began to see the dangers of terrorism and even made the United States place Pakistan on its watch list. Based on all this Britain signed the treaty of extradition with India which was yet to be formally ratified by British Parliament, he said.

Britain had also signed another agreement with India on the confiscation of assets related to terrorists and drug traffickers, he said. "I consider all this my own achievement," Dr Singhvi said.

Echoing the general feeling in the U.K., Dr Singhvi said that terrorism was exported into India by those hostile to this country and those who wanted to harass India, from across the borders. "There are conspiratorial links between different elements hostile to India," he said.

Apart from helping this country to tackle the growing menace of terrorism, Dr Singhvi said the Indo-British diplomacy had now entered a new phase where economic and cultural inputs would be accorded priority.

"Fortunately, the leadership of Britain and India have mutual understanding, and have the will to provide the inputs and co-operation," Dr Singhvi said.

He felt Britain must become more involved with India as a trading and investing partner.

### **Palestinians Said Confident of Indian Support**

93AS0832A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
15 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Excerpt] New Delhi, April 14—The Palestinian leaders are satisfied that India's support to their cause has not been diluted by its dealings with Israel. They consider this important now that efforts for the resumption of West Asia dialogue—in Washington from April 20—have been stepped up. Israel has indicated its consent to participation in the talks while the Palestinians have yet to take a decision. They insist on positive gestures, connected with their demand for the return of the deportees to the West Bank, and related matters.

The talks of the Palestinian Foreign Minister, Mr. Farouq Oadumi, with the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, and other leaders, during his recent visit here, served to emphasise that India's supportive thrust remained unchanged. It dispelled the doubts, that had cropped up inexplicably and found occasional expression in the comments of foreign diplomats, based here. They no longer talk about New Delhi's hesitancy but, on the contrary, note the categorical tone of Indian assurances. Mr. Rao, according to the accounts available from diplomatic sources, told Mr. Oadumi in so many words: "Our support to you continues to be strong. Tell us how we could be of help to you." India, the visiting leader was told, would not take part in the sectoral discussions unless the Palestinians agreed to join the resumed dialogue.

[Passage omitted]

### **Results of Meeting With ASEAN Officials Told**

93AS0806A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
18 Mar 93 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 17—India today joined the company of the U.S., Canada, Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the EEC [European Economic Community] as the eighth sectoral partner of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) with the decision to set up an ASEAN-India Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee (AIJSCC) to coordinate trade, investment and tourism promotion activities.

The decision to set up the AIJSCC forms part of the outcome of the first meeting of ASEAN and Indian officials on the establishment of sectoral dialogue relations. The decision to include India as a sectoral dialogue partner was taken at the ASEAN summit in Singapore last year.

The other decisions taken at the two-day meeting which concluded here today pertain to the setting up of an ASEAN New Delhi Committee consisting of the heads of diplomatic missions of ASEAN member countries here who shall facilitate ASEAN's sectoral dialogue relations

with India. The meeting also agreed to establish a Joint ASEAN-India Business Council which will consist of representatives from respective private sectors of ASEAN and India.

Establishment of fund: In the area of trade and investment, the meeting decided that India would be establishing a fund under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme. This would be utilised to develop programmes and projects in the fields of tourism, administration and management, trade and investments, computers and informatics and solar energy and environment protection. This fund would be placed at the disposal of the ASEAN Secretariat and administered by a Joint Management Committee to be set up for this purpose.

Apart from this, there would be regular interaction between the business communities of India and ASEAN and a mechanism would be established for exchange of trade and commercial data. In the field of tourism, the meeting identified management of destination tourism, cooperation between travel and hotel industries on the two sides and the establishment of an ASEAN-India tourist information centre as the areas to focus on. In science and technology, India proposed that each side offer six post doctoral fellowships for up to six months in science and technology. It was also decided to hold joint workshops to identify themes of common interest for joint projects in the areas of advanced materials, biotechnology and information technology.

Vast potential: Briefing presspersons after the meeting, the Secretary-General of ASEAN, Mr. Ajit Singh, said the ASEAN leaders had decided to hold sectoral dialogue with India in view of the vast potential of cooperation which had been facilitated by the decision of the Indian Government to move towards a liberalised economy and integrate it with the global economy. He said that while ASEAN could take advantage of the Indian skill and enterprise in many areas, for India it would be advantageous to have links with ASEAN because the creation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) within the next 15 years would open up a market of 320 million people for India.

Responding to a specific question, Mr. Singh discounted any setback to the investment climate in India due to the recent violent incidents in some of the main cities.

### **New Delhi Counters Amnesty Indictment**

93AS0833A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
8 Apr 93 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 5—A year after Amnesty International indicted the Government for 415 deaths in custody, the Centre today claimed 145 cases were not established prima facie.

In the case of Virendra Bahadur Singh, who Amnesty said was killed in custody at Bakshi-ka-Talab police

station (Lucknow district) in 1986, the U.P. Government reported to the Centre that he was "alive, living at Bakshi-ka-Talab and plying a taxi."

Of the 415 cases, 23 lacked sufficient particulars, in seven the State Governments said no death had taken place as alleged. The decision not to initiate regular proceedings was based on magisterial inquiries in 38 cases, findings of the commissions of inquiry in five and CID [Criminal Investigation Department] investigations in four.

According to an official note, departmental proceedings were initiated in 21 cases with punishment being awarded in 17. In three cases, departmental proceedings were initiated despite acquittal of the police officials concerned by the courts.

"This is not to suggest that all the cases reported by Amnesty International have been found baseless. As of date reports in 230 cases are available with the Ministry of Home Affairs. Analysis of these 230 cases showed that in 85 cases there was prima facie material for proceeding further and regular investigations, inquiries or prosecutions were launched," the note said.

Govt. aware of cases: The Government said States were conscious of these cases long before they were reported by Amnesty. "In cases where mala fide on part of police officials has been established in preliminary investigations, the State Governments have shown no undue favour to the policemen concerned. Bail applications have been opposed and in certain cases appeals have been filed against acquittals," the note said.

Referring to the case of Archana Ghua, Amnesty said, "The officer-in-charge who has since been promoted has reportedly sought to use every legal avenue to keep the case out of court. Since then a further array of applications for stay orders have been impeding any progress towards bringing the police officers who tortured Archana Guha to justice." Examination of the report showed that the delay had occurred because the police officer concerned had, at various stages, sought and obtained quashing of court orders or staying of the proceedings. The matter was now with the Supreme Court, the Government said.

In the case of Wahid alias Ismail, the Madhya Pradesh High Court ordered exhumation and examination of the body. Wahid had been found hanging in the police lock-up and it was alleged that he had died of torture. "The forensic experts forwarded a report directly to the High Court. No police officer was found guilty and there was no adverse criticism by the High Court against the police in this case."

"Dharma Dutt Sharma was alleged to have been beaten and killed by two policemen in February 1988. The policemen were arrested and suspended. Their bail was allowed by the High Court, which is an indication that the prosecution had successfully opposed the bail application at the lower court's level," the note said.

In the case of Sheikh Jamal, it was alleged that he died in July 1987 in Satragachhi police station in Howrah because he was beaten to death. The medical report established that he died owing to a massive tuberculosis infection.

Amnesty mild on terrorism: Amnesty took note of provisions such as the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act which was in force in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. "It, however, fails to take notice of the problem of terrorism which affects these areas. There is only a mild condemnation of the human rights abuses, including torture, killings and hostage taking by the terrorists who are described as armed opponents of the Government."

"This mild disapproval fails to put in perspective the horror of the situation in which thousands of persons including women and children who have nothing at all to do with the Government are killed by the terrorists every year," the note said.

"In places like Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir the police and security forces are fighting a grim battle for the protection of the right of the ordinary citizen to live his life in peace and security. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act only gives them certain powers to deal with this extraordinary situation and a limited protection insofar as prosecution against them would require prior permission of the Central Government," the note added.

Admitting that deaths in custody did take place, the Government said it would continue to do its utmost to sensitise State governments to the importance of human rights.

## Paper Reports on Rao Visit to Thailand

### Meeting With Prime Minister, Banquet Speech

93AS0825A Madras THE HINDU in English  
8 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami]

[Text] Bangkok, April 7—In his meetings with the Thai Prime Minister, Mr. Chuan Leek Pai and at the delegation level, the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao today stressed that both should get together in the realm of economic cooperation with the proposal that specific projects be discussed within a time frame of a year and with a time-bound plan for their implementation.

A Government of India spokesperson, briefing the media said that the areas of cooperation had not been identified but a number of ideas had come up at the meetings—for instance in the development of fisheries, agriculture and increasing contacts in the private sector of the two countries. The Thai delegation had raised the possibility of cooperation in nuclear power generation. It is understood that a joint committee at the level of senior

officials would take it up and that the acceleration of programmes need not necessarily be tackled by the existing Joint Commission.

The two Prime Ministers described the existing relations as very good with Mr. Rao pointing out the immense possibilities for strengthening it. Mr. Chuan expressed happiness with the economic changes in India, welcomed its increasing interaction with the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and reaffirmed Thailand's support. There was no specific discussion of the military aspect, although there was always the possibility of defence equipment and expertise being provided by India, the spokesman said.

#### Hope on Cambodia

At the meeting, the two leaders discussed the international situation with Mr. Rao noting that the nature of changes that have come about had provided an excellent opportunity for cooperation. There were also discussions about the ASEAN and Indo-China with Mr. Chuan outlining Thai policy vis-a-vis Cambodia, expressing concern over continuing violence in that country and the hope that the parties concerned would come together to fully implement the Paris Peace Accord. This view was shared by Mr. Rao who pointed out that after tremendous suffering over the years the Cambodian people had now an opportunity to determine their future.

There were also discussions on India's relations with ASEAN as a whole and its individual relations with the six nations in the group. Mr. Rao had apparently stressed the fact that after the recent changes in the world, his was the first Prime Ministerial visit to Thailand and therefore of specific importance; and that the relations with individual members in the ASEAN were very good. India's cooperation with the ASEAN has now a sectoral dialogue status with the identified areas being trade, tourism and investment.

In the banquet speech Mr. Rao said while democracy obtained greater nourishment around the world, it was being threatened by ethnic strife, cross border terrorism, traffic in narcotics and abuse of the environment. "My country is victim of terrorism that finds haven and sustenance beyond our borders. And when it combines with the illegitimate profits obtained from the smuggling of narcotics, we confront the abomination of narco-terrorism."

Noting that the threat of mass annihilations might have receded a little with the various agreements that had come into effect, Mr. Rao said that lethal weapons were nowhere being destroyed or even controlled. "No-proliferation has become a 'mantra' for many; but to what avail if the avenues and methods for proliferation themselves proliferate? There has to be a global solution for what is after all a global problem."

Mr. Rao touched upon the inclination among some countries to impose their own perceptions and values on others. Taking human rights as an example, he said,

"...Countries like ours, committed to preserving fundamental human rights in an exceedingly difficult situation created by terrorist attacks on innocent civilians, are target for scrutiny and criticism.

Turning to economic and commercial relations, he said market-oriented policies had become pervasive and rightly so. But at the same time, "...Developed country markets are barricading themselves against the efforts of the developing countries to find a niche in them. As a result, many developing countries find themselves marginalised from both the mechanisms and fruits of the growth in global markets."

#### University Speech

93AS0825B Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
9 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami]

[Text] Bangkok, April 8—"While we might applaud the disappearance of rigid ideological barriers around the world, we cannot ignore the continuation of other problems. The Germanys might have united but the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have disintegrated. Economies are being globalised and yet protectionism and unilateralism remain current. Worldwide understanding increases along with regional conflicts," argued the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, in an address at the Thammasat University here today.

Mr. Rao made several observations on the global political and economic situation, the emerging international issues and problems, the present foundations of Indo-Thai relations and the thrusts for the future during the course of an acceptance speech after the conferment of an Honorary Doctorate in Liberal Arts by the university.

Mr. Rao noted that when two countries like India and Thailand were coming together, they did so with the depth of experience and the constancy of goodwill. "Thailand's growth in recent years has been spectacular; in its own way. India, with its nearly 900 million people, is moving towards greater growth. We are convinced that the genius of our people, unshackled from ideology and rigid tutelage, can propel the creative forces of the nation to new and greater accomplishments. The efforts of our two countries, therefore, find greater complementarity and this is a sound basis for our cooperation," said Mr. Rao.

Global paradoxes: Mr. Rao emphasised that the paradoxes of the world today pointed to a persistent dysfunctioning that had to be taken note of and addressed; and it was in such a context that the values cherished by Thailand and India had an important part to play—the commitment to the rule of law, secular ideals, tolerance and non-violence were all powerful factors that stand out as proponents of peace, harmony and cooperation within nations and amongst nations. The Indian leader, in line with his sentiments expressed in the course of a banquet



speech last night, also referred to the questions of disarmament, international terrorism and economic cooperation where much work had to be done.

On the issue of international terrorism, for instance, Mr. Rao noted, "...when people who perpetrate or abet it come to realise that their own well-being is threatened by their action, things will change for the better ... is it not possible to see the writing on the wall without knocking one's head against it? I think it should be possible to do so and our societies capable of deep reflective powers, should radiate this message as far as we possibly could."

Ideals, past and present: Reflecting on the ideals of past and present thinkers on the concept of a world where trust and cooperation would replace all injustice, suffering and violence, the Indian Prime Minister said history had shown that humankind could be grossly unjust and violent, at least periodically. The question, therefore, according to Mr. Rao was whether realistically war and want could be outlawed; or acknowledged as a natural condition of mankind.

Noting that human development had overcome the scourges once considered inevitable, Mr. Rao wondered whether one could, in the same fashion, think of progress that would eliminate poverty, deprivation, conflict, environmental devastation and drug abuse. "I would like to be optimistic in hoping that just as progress in the past wiped out ills once considered unconquerable, progress in the future will overcome problems considered unsolvable today.

That does not necessarily mean that new problems will not arise thereafter. This is a continuous process to which mankind is condemned, or with which it is blessed—whichever way one looks at it," said the Indian Prime Minister.

Scholar and linguist: The citation for the Indian Prime Minister, refers to Mr. Rao as quintessentially a statesman, scholar and linguist who has made a notable and lifelong contribution to interpreting and understanding India's composite philosophy and culture. Referring to Mr. Rao as a man of many facets, The Thammasat University conferred the doctorate in Liberal Arts honoris causa on Mr. Rao in recognition of his greatness as a creating writer, linguist, philosopher-thinker who is always aware of historical and cultural influences.

Earlier this morning, the Indian Prime Minister laid a wreath at the victory Monument; had audience with his Holiness the Supreme Patriarch; a meeting with the Thai business leaders and community. After the function at the Thammasat University where he inaugurated an India Studies Centre and donated some 1,000 books—the Prime Minister went for an audience with his Majesty, the King of Thailand.

### Meeting With Businessmen

93AS0825C *Madras THE HINDU in English*  
9 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami]

[Text] Bangkok, April 8—The Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, today had a meeting with Thai businessmen.

Briefing the media, an official spokesman said Mr. Rao assured the businessmen that at the governmental level, the Indian and Thai Governments would assist the private sector in the two countries to increase their contacts. No specific projects were discussed.

Thailand is keen on taking its expertise in the fisheries area to India. Local business houses are also interested in agriculture, paper and pulp and computer software.

The spokesman also said that the Executive Secretary of the Economic and Social Commission for the Asia Pacific (ESCAP) paid a courtesy call on the Prime Minister and discussed the organisations perceptions of the region and the extent to which it could go in assisting SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation]. Mr. Rao showed special interest in the potential for the countries investing within the SAARC and in the connection between trade and investment.

Visa fee waiver: At his meeting with the supreme Patriarch this morning Mr. Rao announced the waiving of visa fees for Buddhist monks from Thailand visiting India.

PTI reports:

Mr. Rao today asserted that India's new economic policy was irreversible and urged Thai businessmen and industrialists to utilise the open market programme of the two countries to increase two-way investment and trade.

"The doors are open and you can't blame the door if you can't use it," Mr. Rao told the leaders of Thai business, trade and industry. As a follow up action on his visit, an exchange of business and trade delegations between the two countries was being finalised.

Welcoming Mr. Rao, Dr. Som Jatusipitak, Chairman of the Thai Bankers Association and Joint Standing Committee on Commerce, Industry and Banking, said he supported Mr. Rao's suggestion that specific areas of economic cooperation be worked out within a year. Mr. Rao made the suggestion yesterday during his meeting with the Thai Premier, Mr. Chuan Leekpai, who readily agreed to it.

Dr. Som Jatusipitak assured Mr. Rao of cooperation from Thai private sector in identifying these areas.

Meets Ghali: The Prime Minister also had a meeting with the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The U.N. Secretary General, currently here,

called on the Prime Minister and the meeting was described as a courtesy call.

### Joint Press Statement

93AS0825D Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
10 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami]

[Text] Bangkok, April 9—India and Thailand explored avenues to increase economic, trade and investment opportunities, with Bangkok welcoming the economic liberalisation programmes which would help support and expand the volume of trade and investment between the two countries.

A joint press statement issued prior to the departure of the Prime Minister, Mr Narasimha Rao, from Bangkok for Chiang Mai said that Thailand appreciated the goodwill shown by India in proposing technology transfers in Fibreoptics, electronics, computer hardware and software including Indo-Thai cooperation in nuclear technology for peace. The two sides have agreed to hold further discussions on the issues.

The statement says that in the exchange of views on regional and international matters the two Prime Ministers reaffirmed the importance of achieving durable peace in Cambodia and reiterated their full support for the Paris peace accords and the efforts being made by the UNTAC to bring peace. India and Thailand expressed the belief that the international community should sustain their interest and support efforts aimed at furthering the peace process even after the general elections scheduled in May.

Sectoral dialogue partner: Thailand has warmly welcomed the participation of India as a sectoral dialogue partner of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which constituted an important linkage for closer cooperation between South-East Asian and South Asian regions. The two Prime Ministers had agreed that the two countries should maintain close contacts and exchanges. They appreciated the opportunity, of meeting together with full exchange of ideas leading to a better understanding and closer cooperation in the cause of regional and international peace and economic prosperity.

The two sides took note of the growing menace of drug trafficking and cross-border terrorism. Recognising that international terrorism in all its manifestations is of concern to all nations, India and Thailand reiterated their resolve to combat it. Both sides agreed to maintain and strengthen cooperation in combating drug trafficking and its nexus with terrorism.

Mr. Rao and Mr. Chuan Leekpai agreed that the Non-aligned Movement [NAM] could play an important role in the promotion of peace, economic development and cooperation among the North-South as well as the South-South. In this connection, Thailand's participation in the

Nonaligned Movement was warmly welcomed by India. The two sides had agreed that South-South cooperation in the context of the NAM could be effectively realised in the interest of the developing countries.

India and Thailand noted the significance of the visit of Mr. Rao as demonstrating India's goodwill and friendship towards Thailand and constituting an important milestone in strengthening of mutual relations. In this connection, the statements had warm references to the visits of Rajiv Gandhi to Thailand in October 1966 and the return visit to India by the Thai Prime Minister, Mr. Chatichai Choonhaven in April 1989.

### Departure Press Conference

93AS0825E Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
10 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bangkok, April 9—The Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, wound up his Bangkok part of the visit to Thailand by characterising his talks with the leadership and the business and intellectual community as being fruitful and constructive.

Addressing a press conference prior to his departure to Chiang Mai Province, Mr. Narasimha Rao was confident that the traditional ties would get translated into dynamic cooperation in economic, commercial and other areas.

The Indian leader took the opportunity to reiterate the idea that crystallised in the first day of talks, of the identification of specific areas of cooperation in a time-bound frame of one year after which there could be a review, and, if necessary, the pace would be accelerated and more areas could be brought under the framework.

To a question on the next step in the field of economic growth in India the Prime Minister said this was a continuing and irreversible process with new features in the budget which he characterised, as a further proof of the irreversibility of the liberalisation programme.

Asked whether foreign participation would be allowed in the insurance sector, the Prime Minister declined to be drawn into specifics. The point he made was that as the Government went through the process, if it felt that something or more ought to be done, it would come about.

Two areas of cooperation: Though the specific areas of Indo-Thai cooperation are yet to be identified or finalised in a definite framework, Mr. Rao noted two areas could be that of aquaculture and agriculture on the economic front; and on the cultural side, it has been decided to hold festivals in India and Thailand. Asked whether nuclear technology had been discussed, the Prime Minister pointed out that this could be one of the areas, but then, the specifics had not been discussed.

Thailand is interested in sourcing India for nuclear power generation and a broad statement of intent has come about in the joint press statement released by the two countries.

**Global terrorism:** On international terrorism, the Prime Minister said that this was a phenomenon about which many countries are concerned. While no one could condone terrorism, Mr. Rao pointed out that some countries could be more prone to it, some more open and some less so, even while emphasising that international terrorism was growing and had to be curbed. When a correspondent asked Mr. Rao to comment on a statement of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, criticising Pakistan's involvement in terrorist activities, Mr. Rao quipped, "Any reiteration of the truth is welcome."

**Human rights:** On human rights, the Prime Minister held that the ASEAN position on the subject was not much different from that of India. Arguing that international terrorism was a very difficult problem in which the actual situation had to be kept in mind, Mr. Rao said the human rights of the people affected by terrorism could not be brushed aside. Posing the question whether the concept of human rights was only applicable to terrorists, he called for the need for a balance on the subject, saying that if the law and order authorities overstepped their jurisdiction, it would not be condoned. Defending the human rights principle in India, the Prime Minister said that a law creating the national human rights commission would be introduced in the current session of Parliament.

To a question on what was discussed at the meeting last night with Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Rao said that certain developments in Cambodia were causing concern.

**Dual citizenship:** One of the aspects that came about in the press conference was the issue of dual citizenship that overseas Indians in different countries have been seeking. Mr. Rao said that this was not an easy thing and that there were certain 'almost' insurmountable difficulties. But what was significant was the Prime Minister's remark about a system being worked out wherein the Non-Resident Indians [NRI] could make use of all the advantages of dual citizenship without actually being granted one.

**Rao Speaks at Opening SAARC Meeting**  
93AS0819A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
11 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Haroon Habib]

[Text] Dhaka, April 10—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao has urged the leaders of other six SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries to mark the beginning of the forum's second cycle by focusing political and social energy on

economic development. He said total economic development was among the best cures for socio-economic ills the region faced.

Addressing the inaugural ceremony of the seventh SAARC summit here, Mr. Narasimha Rao appealed to all to make renewed effort "to break down the trade barriers between our countries and jettison the irrational past which created and sustained these barriers."

He said the economic well-being of the region and development objectives were constrained by the disparities in economic, technological and fiscal conditions in this region.

The task now, Mr. Narasimha Rao said, was to structure a balanced relationship in these areas with the industrially-advanced nations so that "we safeguard our collective interests, at the same time making sincere efforts to move away from adversary competition or demanding attitudes which earlier characterised our interaction with the prosperous countries."

Mr. Narasimha Rao placed maximum emphasis on poverty alleviation, removing unemployment, removing illiteracy, which affected the quality of life in the region.

"Bringing our experience and expertise together to help each other is a pre-requisite for any successful effort at forging a stable and egalitarian relationship with other countries and other regions."

On the second cycle of SAARC summit, Mr. Narsaimha Rao said "introspection leads me to conclude that the content and range of cooperation with the region has been slower than what we wished for.

He said the demographic disparity among member countries and inhibitions born of problems inherited from the past were the causes.

"We cannot wish these away but we certainly can abide by the stipulation in the SAARC charter by setting aside essentially bilateral issues, on which there are differences of opinion. We must forge cooperation in areas of common interest and which are more of profound relevance to the well-being of our people."

Emphasising the need for closer trade link among the member countries, Mr. Narasimha Rao said that collectively, the countries were endowed with natural resources, skilled manpower and a mass market of nearly one billion people. The region could restructure regional economic cooperation to build a dynamic South Asian community.

He was satisfied of the steps taken in setting up the South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA). India would join in the collective attempt to implement the decisions in this regard within the time-frame stipulated, he said. He also lauded the role of the South Asian Development Fund for Poverty Alleviation and other action programmes for the common benefits of the people.

Mentioning other measures and programmes being implemented, Mr. Narasimha Rao expressed his happiness over the structure and content of cooperation in SAARC, which had scope for interaction between the region's legislators, between the jurists and between leading figures in academics and culture.

He said India's desire to affirm the continuity and common heritage in terms of shared civilisation and culture found expression in the first Asian cultural festival of SAARC in October 1992. He hoped to continue such festivals in future in order to express this common heritage.

Mr. Rao underlined the importance of harnessing unconventional energy, searching for and using natural resources and coastal seas and put in place projects of cooperation in new fields of vocational training, farm productivity and high technology.

He said South Asia was now facing competition where its political stability, absorptive capacity and financial, economic and technological attractiveness would be the deciding factors leading to external inputs for the region's development.

Referring to the recent regional developments, Mr. Rao, who had cancelled his first visit to Dhaka in December leading to the postponement of the first summit, and other developments in the region leading to the second postponement, told the heads of States and Government that the seventh summit was being held at a time of ferment and transition.

#### Details of Rao Meetings With SAARC Leaders Told

93AS0823A Madras THE HINDU in English  
12 Apr 93 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 11—India has categorically told Pakistan that there could be no further bilateral discussions until the Bombay bomb blast issue was sorted out.

India's strong feelings over the issue were conveyed to the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, by the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, during their unscheduled, 35-minute meeting in Dhaka today.

Talking to presspersons on his return to New Delhi late in the evening, the Prime Minister expressed happiness at the successful summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) which concluded today. The most important achievement was the agreement on preferential trade arrangement among the member-nations, Mr. Rao said.

About his meeting with Mr. Sharif, Mr. Rao called up the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, to provide the details. Mr. Singh said the meeting with Mr. Sharif was not specifically scheduled and during the luncheon break today it was decided that the two Prime Ministers

would meet informally in the lounge of the main conference hall. Consequently, there was no agenda for the meeting.

Mr. Dinesh Singh said the main point of the meeting was to convey to the Pakistan Prime Minister that before any meaningful bilateral dialogue could take place, it was necessary to put the Bombay bomb blast issue behind. It was mentioned during the meeting that Mr. Sharif had promised a full investigation and to get hold of the Memon family in case they were in Pakistan. "We have given sufficient information to Pakistan about the presence of the Memon family there but despite that we find no positive response from Pakistan," Mr. Singh added.

Sharif's assurance: Mr. Nawaz Sharif, on his part, stated that he had set up a task force to look for the Memon family and would again look into this matter. India reiterated that if that issue could be sorted out, there could be discussions on other things, Mr. Singh said.

About his other bilateral meetings, the Prime Minister said that the communal situation in India in the wake of the Ayodhya events or other connected matters were not raised by any of the Heads of State or Government he met. Even with the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Khalida Zia, the discussions centered mainly on SAARC and there was little reference to bilateral issues. "The Bangladesh Prime Minister was extremely busy with the SAARC conference and though we did touch upon some bilateral matters, nothing was discussed in detail," Mr. Rao said.

Talking about the summit, the Prime Minister said that though SAARC had gone through the first cycle, it was for the first time that an economic content was being provided to the movement through the South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA). "We have had other forms of cooperation for seven years, but in the absence of a business and economic focus to the movement, there was no major progress. Now a sub-committee will identify the items and commodities which will be eligible for preferential treatment and after that we will see how we progress in the matter," he said.

Thailand visit good: Mr. Rao also termed as "a good bilateral visit" his trip to Thailand where he had discussions with the Prime Minister and other important persons. The scope for bilateral economic cooperation was substantial and this was likely to get a fillip by the visit. Several areas for joint ventures between India and Thailand were identified giving bilateral trade a new content.

The Prime Minister said in Thailand he also had a meeting with the heads of Indian missions in South East Asia. India's relations with these countries were generally good and a review of the position was made during the meeting.

### Relations, Exchange Between SAARC States Seen Poor, Declining

93AS0812B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 18 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "The Mutual Relations Between SAARC States Are No Longer Friendly and Cooperative"]

[Text] There was a doubt whether the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] session in Dhaka would be held at all. As Prime Minister Narasimha Rao postponed his Dhaka visit in the backdrop of an anti-India environment in Pakistan and Bangladesh following the destruction of the controversial structure in Ayodhya, the SAARC meeting was postponed twice. Various questions were raised also about the April meeting, especially questioning if it was proper for Narasimha Rao to go to Dhaka when anti-India agitation by the fundamentalists in Dhaka was planned. In the end, for her own reasons, Begum Khaleda Zia, the prime minister of Bangladesh, strengthened the security arrangements and ensured the prime minister's Dhaka trip. However, finally the Dhaka session was held and that was the main success of the seventh SAARC Summit conference. Not only that, removing the doubts and mistrusts in many circles about the existence and future of the SAARC, it completed the "seventh round" in Dhaka again after going through Dhaka, Bangalore, Katmandu, Islamabad, Male, and Colombo within eight years and that, of course, in the first phase. Therefore, before judging the difficulties prior to the commencement of the journey in the second phase, a quick review on the outcome of the SAARC's seven rounds may not be at all irrelevant. It is necessary because a question will surely be raised as to whether it is possible for an organization, which was born in controversy about eight years ago and remains today as a focal point of controversy, to strengthen and expand the field of cooperation among the seven South Asian nations.

From the first SAARC Summit in Dhaka in 1985 to the seventh summit last week, the question of whether SAARC will be able to reach its goals by ignoring the bilateral problems, is a question that has rung repeatedly like a harsh hostile tune in the concert of cooperation. Although those who raised this "hostile" tune were greater in number, it was not possible for them to muddy the water with this anti-India bilateral issue. For that reason they never stopped trying to raise the bilateral issues at the SAARC's open forums.

This attempt started at the first SAARC summit session in Dhaka. It of course was made by Pakistan. To make the first session memorable the Pakistan Government wanted to issue a one rupee stamp with a map of the subcontinent drawn on it showing Kashmir and Sikkim out of India. Pakistan's designs were clear. Had this stamp been formally distributed amidst emotional speeches and sparkling words, then Pakistan's fanciful

controversy on Kashmir and Sikkim would have obtained SAARC's official recognition. As the matter came promptly to the attention of an Indian philatelist, it was not possible to print that stamp. [sentence as published]

Despite this unpleasant incident, an amiable atmosphere was built among the seven South Asian nations after the first SAARC summit but it turned cold within a few months. The problems, which were fast moving on the path of solution through bilateral negotiations, once again grew tall. Besides the Kashmir and Sri Lankan issues, Pakistan's atom bomb test, concentration of troops at the India-Pakistan border, Rajiv Gandhi's threat to teach a "befitting lesson to Pakistan," and a state of war between the two countries, brought an uncertainty to the holding of the second SAARC conference in Bangalore. No satisfactory reply was received from any side as to why Rajiv Gandhi had selected that particular time to threaten Pakistan, why a decision was made to concentrate troops at the Pakistan-India border at that time, and why Pakistan conducted its nuclear test before the second SAARC meeting. Jayewardene's visit to India also became uncertain because of bitter India-Sri Lanka relations due to Tamil problems in Sri Lanka. Later on, following a lot of dramas, the Bangalore meeting was finally held as usual and many misunderstandings were removed at the bilateral meetings.

The same ill-feeling and haggling again started at the beginning of the third SAARC summit in Katmandu. The controversy was over Afghanistan's appeal for SAARC membership, SAARC's cooperation with the "ASEAN" [Association for Southeast Asian Nations], and the introduction of a "regional code of conduct" as a pledge for a joint struggle against terrorism. There were strong differences of opinion on the topic of resistance to the multipurpose investment organizations and expansion of nuclear weapons in South Asia. But as there existed a give and take attitude among the state leaders, no controversy remained at the end.

There was also uncertainty at the fourth SAARC summit conference. According to the decision made in Katmandu, the fourth "SAARC" was to be held in 1988 in Sri Lanka and the fifth SAARC the next year in Pakistan. But that decision could not materialize. It was not possible for the Sri Lankan rulers, harassed by the armed activities of the militant Tamils in the northern region and "Janata Vimukthi Peramuna" in the South, to make arrangement for the SAARC summit conference. Taking care of that situation Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan made preparations for the fourth summit conference in Islamabad. Not only that, she did not allow the SAARC atmosphere to be debased by the raising of any controversial issues. On the contrary, after her frank discussions with Rajiv Gandhi, a climate of understanding was created between the two nations. The immediate gain of that discussion was the Pakistan-India cultural agreement.

But the next year, that is in 1989, because of Sri Lankan President Premadasa's opposition, the fifth SAARC summit conference could not be held in Colombo. Without paying any heed to the diplomatic norms, Premadasa—a bitter critic of the India-Sri Lanka treaty—called the Indian peace forces occupying forces and declared that so long as these forces remained in Sri Lanka there would be no SAARC session in Colombo. There is no doubt that Premadasa adopted this attitude to embarrass India. The summit session was not held that year. But due to some course of events it was not possible for Sri Lanka to take the SAARC leadership in 1990 also. At the request of President Gayoom of Maldives a decision was made two years ago at Islamabad to hold the SAARC summit at Male in the year 1990 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the birth of that nation. Meanwhile, with the greater normalization of the situation in Sri Lanka, Premadasa insisted childishly on a shift of the fifth summit to Colombo. But as no leader sent their response, that summit was finally held at Male. Angry, Premadasa was absent from that meeting and Sri Lanka's representation was made by Prime Minister Wijetunge. Although according to the Sri Lankan constitution, the prime minister is not the head of state or government, no one raised the question of the validity of the fifth SAARC summit conference with the presence of Wijetunge.

But a controversy started on the same representation issue on the eve of the SAARC's sixth summit conference. This session was to start in the first week of November in Colombo. Bhutan's King Jigme Wangchuck intimated earlier that because of internal trouble in the nation it would not be possible for him to leave the country and go to Colombo. It was decided that Bhutan's representative to the summit would be a person nominated by the King. But India was opposed to this arrangement. The Indian view was that, according to the SAARC charter, only the head of state or government is authorized to take part in the summit. Finally when the Nepalese prime minister also supported India's view, the Colombo session was postponed. Sri Lanka held India responsible for foiling the summit session. However, the same summit session was held one month later for a day only. The whole affair was just like fulfilling a responsibility.

The seventh summit session also could not be held at the pre-determined time, December 1992, because of India's opposition. Also it could not be held in January. The atmosphere in which it was held finally in April, cannot be called under any circumstances a friendly and cooperative atmosphere. In the backdrop of strained relations between the two countries on the question of handing over to India the escaped Memom brothers in Pakistan, nothing useful could be done at the Dhaka summit session. No one knows when the South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement [SAPTA] will be implemented. The odd situation that was created by the Pakistan-India cold war on various controversial issues at the SAARC platform, made it doubtful that any face-to-face talks

between Narasimha Rao and Nawab Sharif would be held. Later on, even when such a meeting was held at the mediation of other members, Pakistan's prime minister did not forget to indirectly mention bilateral problems in the summit session.

In this way by stumbling through seven rounds, "SAARC" has started its second phase from Dhaka. However, there remains not a bit of that spirit and enthusiasm of the leaders with which the "SAARC" started its journey in 1985. The pledge the state leaders made at that time of bringing "a crimson morning" in South Asia, remains incomplete even today. However, they still hope that the seventh SAARC under Begum Zia's leadership will usher in a "new era" in South Asia.

### Problems Facing Foreign Ministry Analyzed

93AS0813B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
2 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Shiv Kumar Bhadauriya: "The Challenges Facing the Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Mr. Dinesh Singh, the new foreign minister, is perhaps an expert in foreign affairs. He has had experience in the Indian foreign service, as Jawaharlal Nehru's personal assistant, as a member of many international conferences, as state minister for foreign affairs during Indira Gandhi's era, and as a foreign minister. He developed personal contact with the developing nations of Asia and Africa between the forties and the sixties. This is considered his special area of expertise. However, Mr. Dinesh Singh has returned to this ministry in the South Block [Ministry of External Affairs] after a quarter of a century. He was the foreign minister from 10 January 1969 to June 1970. During the last 22-23 years, the world's geography and history have both changed. The international scene has wholly changed. The basic philosophy of India's foreign policy was to remain neutral, and it was considered a revolutionary policy at the time. Many developing nations have joined it. However, the neutral philosophy has become institutionalized now. An international organization nations following this policy has been formed.

At present, our foreign policy is limited to international trade. If we separate economic assistance from our foreign policy, then it is nothing but an international protocol. Our weakness in the export area is not hidden from anyone. Because of the major devaluation of our currency, our debts have increased many times. Exports did not increase as expected because of the devaluation, because our production did not increase. We have to depend on foreign loans and exports of our human services. By export of human services, we mean people of Indian origin working in other nations.

We do not need to make any major changes in our relations with most of the industrialized Western nations. If the trade relations we have with the United States of America, France, and other nations continue at this level, then it will be just fine for us. The future leader

of Europe will be united Germany, with whom we must improve our relations. It could have conflicts with industrialized nations later.

Our relations with the Gulf countries and other Islamic countries are very tense. The way these countries tried to interfere in our affairs over Ayodhya has made the Indian people angry. These Islamic nations have always been pro-Pakistan, and Pakistan's attitude has been anti-India. That is why these countries oppose India, willingly or unwillingly. In order to improve relations with these countries, we have to forget the myth that we are the number three Muslim nation in the world. All Islamic countries consider us the Hindu country, while we insist that they call us a Muslim country. Knowingly or unknowingly, we try to imply that we are a Muslim country when we deal with them. We have to establish relations with those countries based on the nation India. We have to let them know that people who live in India are Indians first and Hindus, Muslims, or Christians next.

Dinesh Singh will have to learn from period when he was the foreign minister. He received invitations to the Muslim International Conference in Rabat in 1969 by referring to the number of Muslims living in India. However, India's delegation under the leadership of Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, then-cabinet minister and later India's president, was not even permitted to sit as an observer group. What is worse, water and electricity to the hotel in which the Indian delegation was staying was cut off, and our delegation returned very embarrassed.

By bringing Salman Khursheed to the Foreign Ministry, it seems that the prime minister is trying to wipe away the Hindu image of India by placing a Muslim minister there. Salman Khursheed should remember the embarrassment that Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed had to face. Salman Khursheed is politically a midget when compared to Mr. Ahmed. Islamic fundamentalism is increasing all over the world. The incidents in Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq are not hidden from anyone. The situation around us is very different. Every Muslim majority country in the world has declared itself an Islamic nation and has started to give preference to Shari'at laws over the laws passed by their parliaments.

We have to pay special attention to our neighboring countries. They are all worried about our becoming a major power. We have to remove that fear. After the 1971 war, the world began to view us as a major power in southeast Asia. After breaking up Pakistan, sending our armed forces to suppress the rebels in Sri Lanka, and defending the Maldives from pirates, we have proved this point. Keeping over 100,000 foreign soldiers in jail for over a year can be a source of pride for any country. Pakistan cannot tolerate our position. It wants to take revenge for the 1971 insult. However, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Pakistan is no longer militarily useful to the United States of America. We have already decided to work with China by bowing down to it. We have to prove in southeast Asia that

Pakistan's two-nation theory is useless. We do not have time to think about making the whole Indian subcontinent a single unit. However, if India, China, and Japan agree to work in Asia for a cooperative plan, then the new Foreign Ministry should try to pursue this option.

Mr. R.L. Bhatia is an interesting politician. Perhaps he will not have any confrontation with the veteran ministers. As for Salman Khursheed, there are some possibilities that he will. Just as with the veteran minister, his background may not be that of a "rajah," but that of a "khan bahadur [commoner]." He does not consider himself lower in nobility than his superiors. Salman Khursheed is a nephew of the late President Zakir Hussein. He is also the son of Karnataka's governor, Khursheed Alam. Salman Khursheed can also think about the fact that the senior minister is not even a Parliament member, and has lost the election. Still, Salman Khursheed, just like the senior minister, is a noble person, and the faith that the prime minister has shown in Dinesh Singh will prevent any confrontation within the near future. The rest depends on the stability of our government. The situation of the Indian government at present is analogous to a defeated army. It has won in the no-confidence motion; however, it is aware of the feeling of weakness associated with it. A government that shows weakness in its internal affairs cannot show miracles in its foreign affairs. The pride of a leader from the Nehru era will not allow him to walk in the shadow of any country at the international level, and our nation does not have the ability to walk with its chest out, either. However, playing such a role is necessary in the diplomatic world.

## Regional Affairs

### Problems, Solutions in Jammu-Kashmir Analyzed

#### Paradise Lost

93AS0815A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 18 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Suresh Dugar: "Not the Worry of Dal or Nishat"]

[Text] When I was passing through the Civil Lines area I saw a very sad face from which the natural smile was missing. I was looking at that face very carefully when, suddenly, a hand grenade fell near my right foot. By the grace of God, the grenade did not explode. I then suddenly found myself in the historic Lal Chowk, which has become famous for riots these days. I have seen the National Conference flag in this place ever since I was a child. This flag had a red mark on it. It symbolizes brotherhood. Today we have neither that flag nor the National Conference. Both have become part of history.

I was looking for another flag in the Chowk. I was looking for the tri-colored flag of India, which Murli Manohar Joshi, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president, had raised on Independence Day, at the end of his "Ekta Yatra." This flag was also missing from the



Chowk. The Lal Chowk, whose history is very important, used to be the busiest marketplace in the Kashmir Valley. There was a large clock on the high clock tower in the center of the Chowk. This clock stopped when peace ended in the Valley. In the center of the Chowk, on the right side is the Palladium Movie House. This movie house, just like the seven others, has been closed for the last four years because of terrorist threats.

There is very little movement in the Chowk. In its center, around the tower clock, the border security force personnel, who are responsible for peace in the Valley, have established three huge bunkers covered with nets. From among the ten vehicles going into the Chowk, six belong to the security forces. The security forces do not allow any vehicles to go through the Chowk. One cannot even think about parking a vehicle there. One part of the Chowk is always closed. The shops in this part have been closed for the last three years, because they belonged to the minority Kashmiri pundits. These pundits have run away to Jammu and other parts of the country. Some of these shops have become prey to fires, grenades, and rockets. The locks on the closed shops are covered with a thick layer of dust.

There used to be a famous building named Kara in this Chowk. It was burned to ashes during a confrontation between the terrorists and the security forces. We could not understand the mystery of how a building gets burned when two sides fight with one another. A new building has been built at that site. However, it could not really replace the old one. One can build a new structure in the place of an old one, but one cannot bring back the people who died in the fire and bullets on that day. They cannot be reincarnated either. I strolled slowly to Residency Road. It has the same scenario. The fact is, all of the Kashmir Valley looks like this now. However, seeing such desolation at these important places really hurts one. The only difference between Lal Chowk and Residency Road is that the latter seems to have more people than the unfortunate Lal Chowk. The reason is a group of college youths who had gathered. They were making fun of each other. I felt good listening to their good-natured teasing.

Suddenly, with a lot of clamor, a BSF [Border Security Force] Gypsy and six other vehicles came to a stop there. Security force personnel jumped from them and spread to all sides. They surrounded the college students. This was not a film shooting; it was a real-life scene. I stood motionless there. Four masked young men also emerged from these vehicles. These are known as informers. They pointed to some of the college students. The BSF soldiers pick up the college boys that were pointed to like sacks and threw them into the Gypsy. No one paid attention to the screams of the boys. This continued for about 15 minutes. People stood around, hiding behind whatever they could find. They were afraid of the bullets in the security force's guns. The informers who had identified the college students returned to the vehicles, and all the vehicles drove away, leaving smoke exhaust behind them. A total of 18 young men were arrested. They have

not been heard from for a full year. Their parents and relatives do not know where these young men are, how they are doing, and for what crimes they were arrested. This is a daily occurrence in this paradise on earth.

No one raised a voice against this atrocity. It appears that no one ever saw anything. As soon as the vehicles left, the people who were hiding out of fear came out and began to walk around in the market. Within seconds, everything became normal. Most of these people were in a hurry to leave the market. I copied them and left the place. The scene outside the Indian State Bank, where the word "Indian" has been removed, just as it has been from the names of other organizations such as the Indian Oil Corporation and Indian Petroleum, is also very strange. There is no line outside the bank. The bunkers built around this bank make one wonder if this bank is a fort. Once in a while, a civilian is seen entering. It is the security force personnel that are running the bank. Otherwise, the employees of the bank, just like the employees of other branches, would have run away to Jammu and other parts of the country. There was a long line of customers outside the Jammu-Kashmir Bank, which is just across the street from the Indian State Bank. This is a result of the orders of the terrorist groups. They had ordered, as a warning, that money from all nationalized banks be moved to the Jammu-Kashmir Bank. When the people standing in this long line were told that there would be no business that day because the employees of the bank were on strike, none of them asked for any details. This is an example of the tolerance of the Kashmiri people.

My feet take me to Gupkar Road, where Dr. Farookh Abdullah, the former chief minister famous for his dramatics, used to live. A large group of people were going toward the world-famous Dal Lake, which is on its other side. I was very happy to see it, and joined them. Most of these people had food and fruit bags with them. I was surprised that no one had told me that peace had returned.

I told one man who was passing me that Dal Lake was in no shape for recreation now because it has some kind of sickness in it. I asked him why he was going there. He got angry and, making a strange face, said that he had nothing to do with the Dal Lake. I was surprised at his answer, and learned the truth, that this group was not going to Dal Lake. These people were going to two interrogation centers on this road. These two centers are known as Hari Nivas and the Joint Interrogation Center. These people were going there to see their friends and relatives. The Joint Interrogation Center, known as JEC, and Hari Nivas are famous here, and everybody knows of them.

I did not tell the man who was walking beside me that I am a journalist. This man's name was Mohiuddin, and he lived in Kupvada. Two months ago, the security forces arrested his 16-year-old son during a routine search, something that goes on daily. Someone had told this unfortunate father that his son was in Hari Nivas. I



decided that it was not a good idea to ask for more information, because he was alerted by the color of my jacket. He thought that I also worked for the security forces, just because of its color.

He told me his son was innocent. He wanted my help, and was willing to give a lot of money to release him. He offered 5,000 rupees first, then increased the offer to 20,000 rupees. I was curious: How could this man, who appeared to be very poor, raise 20,000 rupees? At that he said that his brother also did the same. He sold the land he inherited to get his son released. The man said he would do the same. I asked, if he sold the land, how could he support himself? He said that God would look after him. I am unable to understand this philosophy about life. I began to feel that I had raised his hopes for nothing. I tried to tell him that money does not work everywhere. "No, no, it does work. My relatives and friends have told me so, and all I need is a good contact." He responded, contradicting me.

He was looking at me with great hope. I felt that the poor father thought I was the right contact that he was looking for. I tried hard to explain to him that I was not what he thought I was. At this he got very angry at me, and then asked me why I was asking him questions at Gupkar Road. I could not say anything.

I thought it was better for me to quietly go from there, because his anger could take a dangerous form. I strolled to the famed Boulevard Road on Dal Lake. Some red-colored disease has polluted it. Because of its red color, Dal Lake also looked angry. Its water reeked of pollution. In order to treat the water, all shikaras were docked on the shore. Houseboats and shikaras in the thousands were docked in a row because, in the last three years, not one tourist had contacted the owner about these boats.

The owners of the shikaras and houseboats were trying to pass time with depression written on their faces. I felt sorry for them. This was the first time in Kashmir's history that boat owners were hungry. If the government did not do something in time, these people would die of hunger. This has never happened in Kashmir. Some of these boat owners looked happy when they saw me walking toward them. One of them was willing to take me for just two or four rupees. I was almost ready to rent a shikara and enjoy the beauty of Dal Lake; however, one of the security personnel who saw me advised me not to do so. I thought of telling him who I was, but seeing his expression, I hesitated. Seeing me go back, the owners of the boats must have been cursing the security guard. The glorious hotels built on Boulevard Road were in dilapidated condition. Only two to four buildings were left, which became the target of rockets once in a while. Some of the hotels were occupied by security forces. They paid only a nominal rent to the hotel owner.

This road also had very few people traveling on it. The famous Mogul Garden just beside it was not attracting any visitors. I stopped a passing Matador and rode it to Nishat Garden. I was happy to see a large number of

men, women, and children there. However, my joy was soon gone. When my foot took its first step into the garden, I had to turn back, hearing a very loud voice. A dark man very rudely prevented me from going in. He asked, "Where are you going?"

"Into the garden," I replied. He showered me with questions. I got tired and came back.

I saw a restaurant, entered, and asked for a cup of coffee. An old man working there gave me a hot cup of coffee immediately. The love with which he offered it to me, and the way he treated me, showed that it had been a long time since a customer had entered the restaurant. The old man asked me if I worked in some intelligence agency. Again, the color of my jacket caused the question to be raised. When I replied in the negative, he came and sat beside me.

The man asked me why I was trying to enter the garden. I told him I wanted to enter, seeing women and children there. He said I could not go in at this time. I was surprised and asked why. He said that the families of the security forces were in there at the time. Now I understood the whole story, and knew that this old man was watching me all the time. I began to argue with him and asked why I could not enter at that time. He got frustrated and patted my head, saying, "Son, you should try to show understanding some time." I was surprised by his attitude toward me. He went on to say that his young son had also argued with security personnel like I had, and he was killed right there. I stopped talking to him and began to drink my coffee, trying to get rid of my fatigue. Again and again, the innocence of the Kashmiris emerged in my mind. Again and again, I began to think, when will this heaven on earth be freed from these bloody claws? When will the spring spread its wings here again? And when will the water of Dal Lake be rid of the color of blood?

### Article 370 Relevance Questioned

93AS0815B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Devnath Prasad Shrivastav: "Article 370 and Kashmir"]

[Text] India is having many problems these days. Separatism, communalism, and terrorism have become a permanent part of India. One of the problems facing India is the Kashmir problem. Kashmir is a beautiful valley that was known as a paradise on earth. It has always attracted people. Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims have always lived in harmony in Kashmir. Today, however, the same beautiful valley is affected by communalism, separatism, hatred, and violence. A tourist gets scared just at the thought of visiting Kashmir. Why did this happen? Let us forget the people coming from outside. Even the local people there are suffering badly because of a few people's vested interests. Terrorist violence has become a common occurrence. Why is this happening? We need to think about this question. We have been thinking about it for a long time. Some people

fail to understand why a special status was given to Kashmir. Is Kashmir not an integral part of India? Why do the residents of Kashmir consider themselves separate from India? Why does Kashmir have a special provision under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution? What exactly is this provision? This and many other questions confuse and anger people. We have to discuss here why Article 370 was necessary.

The fact is that the Kashmir issue is one of national security. It is not religious; it is a separatist problem. Its main reason is Pundit Nehru's acceptance of Sheikh Abdullah's advice to allow a separate nation under the Constitution's Article 370. In addition, a separate constitution and flag were also approved for Kashmir later. This article was temporary, and was an emergency arrangement. However, in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Indian Constitution in 1962, this article was made permanent. The truth is that this article was opposed even in the beginning. When Sheikh Abdullah went to visit Dr. Ambedkar, the chairman of the Constitutional Committee, he commented, "You want India to defend Kashmir and provide food to the people there, but do not want India to control Kashmir?" This article was approved against his wishes, and because of Pundit Nehru's policy of appeasement. The whole country is suffering now because of this great mistake made by Nehru.

The Jammu-Kashmir Constitution provides full citizenship to Kashmiris. The people here are citizens of India, as well as of Jammu-Kashmir. However, according to its Constitution, people from other states cannot be temporary residents of this state. According to Article 10 of the Jammu-Kashmir Constitution, the citizens here have all the rights listed in the Indian Constitution. They also have many privileges and special rights. Kashmiris can have jobs in the Indian civil service. At the same time, citizens of other states in India cannot get jobs in the Jammu-Kashmir government. Citizens of Jammu-Kashmir can run for election from any constituency in India; however, citizens of other states cannot run for election from Jammu-Kashmir.

The Indian Parliament can make laws affecting all states in specific areas. In the case of Jammu-Kashmir, this can be done only with the support of the state government. This way, Article 370 provides Kashmir a special status. The president can neither suspend the state's Constitution, nor can he issue special orders under Article 356. It is almost as if it were not a state in India, but another country. The Jammu-Kashmir Constitution also causes many problems related to property ownership, citizenship, and the right to residency. People who are not citizens of Jammu-Kashmir are not eligible in the above areas. Even more unfair is the fact that if a woman marries a man who is not a citizen of Jammu-Kashmir, she loses the right to her property. Not only this, she cannot inherit her parents' property. She cannot be admitted into any engineering, medical, or agricultural college. This special article in the Jammu-Kashmir Constitution causes an emotional separation between the

state and the Indian union. In addition, it is contrary to the basic principles of justice and fairness.

The people in the corridors of power use Article 370 to scare the citizens, so that they can hide their corrupt actions. The 1976 Urban Land Organization and Control Act has been implemented in the whole nation, except for Jammu and Kashmir. A specific vested interest group in the government did not let this state come under the control of this law, for their own selfish reasons. This law has nothing to do with Article 370. Many examples of government corruption have been brought to light, in which urban land was taken over by this special group. They would confiscate expensive real estate and later collect a huge amount on it. This practice could have been stopped under the urban land laws; however, the vested interests did not let this happen. Not only this, Article 370 was also abused in order to establish a specific political elite group. For example, the law passed to stop legislators from changing their party was not implemented in Jammu and Kashmir. The legal system in this state is such that the head of a party has almost dictatorial powers. According to state laws, the decision on changing parties is not made by the president of the Vidhan Sabha, but by the president of the party.

Is it not depressing to know that the country that has been proud of its social, economic, and political justice, and a country that was shedding tears over human rights violations in South Africa and Palestine, is quiet about unfair practices within its own boundaries? Do our rulers think that this is what secularism is? In South Africa and Palestine, other people are taking away human rights. Here, we are taking away the rights of our fellow citizens, and we do not even say anything about it. The whole country is guilty of allowing the problems of displaced people, and has closed its eyes to this injustice. It is also ignoring the unfairness of Article 370, and is looking away from its inhuman actions.

The main question is: What is the reason for Article 370 in Kashmir? Why do other states not have the same law? It is said that this has been done to protect the culture of Jammu-Kashmir. But then, every state needs to protect its culture and existence. We declare to the whole world that there will be no discrimination based on religion; however, it is sad to note that the Central Government is ignoring this principle in Kashmir. The truth is that Article 370 and the net of self-determination has been knit in Kashmir and Pakistan is using this to its own advantage, and with Indian money. Unfortunately, we do not have the sharp eyes necessary to understand this game, and we do not want to, either. It does not matter how beneficial a union law is for the people; it is made ineffective here. All political parties speak against family welfare programs. They call these programs anti-Islamic and a conspiracy by Hindu India. They say that the innocent majority in this state is being changed to a minority through this conspiracy.

The Jammu-Kashmir government depends on the union to meet its expenses. About 75 percent of its revenue

comes from the Central Government. Of it, 90 percent is grants and 10 percent is through loans. The state government cannot even pay the salaries of government employees from the state's tax revenues. It simply has no money for any developmental plans. This state has received more aid per person from the union than has any other state. It receives 2.57 percent of the union aid program, even though its population is only 0.8 percent of the total population. For example, in 1989-90, Jammu-Kashmir's per-person assistance was 1,122 rupees, while the corresponding amount for Bihar was only 109 rupees; for Uttar Pradesh, 91 rupees; and for West Bengal, only 67 rupees. The Central Government takes away the shares of other states to give it to Jammu-Kashmir, and this money is used to fan the fire of separatism.

In spite of all this aid, the separatist forces in Kashmir sow the seeds of communalism in order to keep the pressure on to keep Article 370 effective. The present situation in Kashmir clearly indicates that it was Article 370 that gave birth to the separatist mentality. This has been the cause of the conspiracy to separate Kashmir from India. Therefore, maintaining the situation any further would be suicidal for our country. It is regrettable that politicians are only involved in their party's selfish interests. They have nothing to do with the Central Government. As a result, they just do not pay attention to what is happening.

### Jammu Suffering

93AS0815C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Hari Kher: "How Long Will Jammu be Neglected?"]

[Text] It is not surprising that the people of Jammu have opposed the recommendations made by the Border Commission on 28 October 1992, as well as the Indian Government's decision to keep a separate census arrangement for Kashmir in 1991. The people of Jammu have the full right to oppose these decisions because the census was taken in the whole country, including Punjab and Assam. It just was not appropriate to make an exemption about Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu are also opposing the recommendations made by the Border Commission for specific reasons. According to these recommendations, Jammu, with its 26,000 square kilometer area, will have the right to send 37 members to the Vidhan Sabha. On the other hand, Kashmir, with 67,000 square kilometers, will have 46 legislative members. Previously, these numbers were 32 and 42, respectively. Laddakh, which has an area of 96,000 square kilometers, will be able to send only four legislators. At present, there are only two legislators from Laddakh.

If the recommendations are approved by the government, the interests of the people of Jammu-Kashmir will be hurt greatly during the next ten years. The people of Jammu held a major demonstration on 28 and 29

October 1992 to show their anger at these unfair recommendations. Since independence, for political reasons, the people of the Kashmir Valley have always received preferential treatment, while the people of Jammu have been neglected regularly during the last 45 years.

All this has been done by Delhi to keep the Kashmiri leaders happy. People are angry that the leaders of Jammu have accepted all kinds of insults because of the leaders of the National Conference and the former home minister and Janata Dal Leader Mufti Mohammed Sayyed. These leaders did not want to lose control of Kashmir over Jammu. Therefore, they forced postponement of the census in Jammu.

The government argued that the census was not possible because of terrorist activities. If one has to stop the census because of riots, then why did the census registrar not stop registration of the census in Punjab? Punjab was number one in the whole world for terrorist activities.

According to government statistics, 11,000 people were killed between 1981 and 1991 in Punjab. Thus, on average, ten people were murdered daily. Compared to this, the situation in Jammu-Kashmir is different. Now that the Hindus or Kashmiri pundits have left the Kashmir Valley to take refuge in Delhi and Jammu, there are almost no Hindus left in the Kashmir Valley. As a result, violence and instigation ended there. The number of deaths that have occurred in Kashmir from violent activities between 1987 and 1990 is only 1,000. This way, on average, only one person was killed there per day. Clearly, the reason for stopping the census in Jammu was not terrorist activities; it was just a political conspiracy. This conspiracy was hatched by leaders in the Kashmir Valley. That is why the census in Jammu-Kashmir was postponed.

The first injustice meted out to the people of Jammu was in 1951 when the census here was canceled. The reason for stopping the census was that the 1941 census was being used for decisions on Vidhan Sabha constituencies. The injustice to Jammu did not stop there. In order to stop representation from Jammu in the Vidhan Sabha, Sheikh Abdullah dismissed the candidacy papers filed by all candidates of the Jammu Paraja Parishad Party. Later, this Vidhan Sabha demanded that a separate constitution be written for Jammu-Kashmir. The Jammu Paraja Parishad later merged with the Bharatiya Jan Sangh.

Between 1961 and 1971, Jammu did not have appropriate representation in the Lok Sabha. Smart politicians made their decision based on the total population of 600,000, and allotted three seats to Kashmir and two seats to Jammu. This way, the exploitation of Jammu continued. Jammu was not treated justly in 1967 for direct election to the Lok Sabha, either. According to the 1971 census, Jammu's population was 2.1 million, and the Kashmir Valley's population was 2.3 million. Thus, Jammu did not get its fair share. The Vidhan Sabha Constituency Determination Commission allowed

53,288 Kashmiri citizens to have a representative in the Lok Sabha, compared to one representative per 67,741 Jammu residents. This way, in order to keep the people in Kashmir happy, laws about people's representation were broken.

The main reason for stopping the census in Jammu is the flight of 300,000 people from the Kashmir Valley. The people in Kashmir know that if the census were held today, then the balance would be badly affected. One negative result of it would be that the number of Vidhan Sabha seats for Jammu would be increased. The control that Kashmir has had over Jammu until now would end, and Jammu would be in the driver's seat. Therefore, it was natural for the Kashmiri leaders sitting in Delhi to become alert.

Their prestige is on the line now. They also have to save their own existence. They have to protect their political interests. Now there is the question of controlling the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, and also of alleviating the problems that people in Jammu-Kashmir are facing. We have to see how Prime Minister Narasimha Rao manages to achieve both goals.

#### **Government Policy in Kashmir Seen Failed, New Solutions Urged**

93AS0838A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*  
27, 28, 29 Apr 93

[Article by A.G. Noorani: "Lost Valley: A Pattern of Outrages in Kashmir"] [27 Apr p 8]

[Text] The Government of India has not only failed dismally to evolve any coherent policy on Kashmir, one of the gravest problems affecting the country's integrity and the peace of the region, but shows no signs of doing so in the near future either. Dr Farooq Abdullah's stinging criticism on April 18 reveals a lot: "The present Government of India, and the Prime Minister in particular, are unable to understand the gravity of the situation. And even if they do, they are clearly incapable of taking any firm decisions."

Only a month earlier, on March 15, he was optimistic. There was "definite rethinking in Delhi for a solution to the Kashmir problem" and the Government wanted "to show a kind face." What had happened to disillusion him? Apparently, the Government's refusal to hold elections to the State Assembly after fulfilling his preconditions, one of which was restoration of the State's autonomy as it existed in 1952. He was, understandably, not impressed by the Union Home Minister, Mr S.B. Chavan's assurance, on April 15, that the Centre was in the process of framing a "definite policy" on Kashmir: On October 31 last year the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, had hinted at a "package" for Kashmir. It never materialized.

#### **Initiative**

The only initiative which the Government took was to invite all the former M.P.s and MLAs of Kashmir to a meeting on November 7. Dr Farooq Abdullah declined to attend. So did everyone else of consequence. The present phase of his talks with the Centre began last January on his return from London to which he repaired again on April 19. The newly appointed Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, General K.V. Krishna Rao, declared on April 3 that he would like to hold elections to the Assembly within the next six months. The idea was soon shot down by Mr Chavan on April 15 as well [as] by the Minister of State for Home, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, on April 12 on the same ground—no elections could be held till "near normalcy" was restored. Given New Delhi's present stance, such a consummation can be ruled out in the near future and with it the elections.

There is a strange unrealism in the assessments of Indian leaders on Kashmir. Speaking in Srinagar on June 30, 1992, Mr Chavan had detected such a "distinct change" in the situation that he talked of "forcing the pace of democratic process to get the people still undecided to involve themselves in the political process." How any Government can possibly force an alienated people to involve themselves in a political process created elsewhere passes one's imagination. Of a piece with this Mr Pilot's constant references to the "misguided youth" on the confident assumption, no doubt, that he can pull his fancied charm to wean them away.

That very day in Srinagar, June 30, 1992, a delegation led by Dr Abdullah met Mr Chavan and presented its views on initiating a political process. Beside restoration of Article 370 to its original strength, they pleaded for investigation of excesses by the security forces, release of political prisoners, making the local police and bureaucracy more accountable and effective, and a unified command in the State. In sum, concessions tangible enough to persuade the people that the Indian constitutional system can fulfil their aspirations. The delegation comprised members of the Janata Dal, the CPM and the Congress (I), all of whom concurred in the demands. The Centre's stand was that conditions had to return to "normalcy" before the polls could be held. This fundamental disagreement led to the postponement of the polls then. It persists even now.

The year that elapsed led to a steep deterioration in the situation. Militancy spread to Doda. No doubt the Pakistan-sponsored Hizbul Mujahideen did its worst to prevent any detente. But New Delhi had its own ways of securing restoration to "normalcy." A report by Physicians for Human Rights and Asia Watch, entitled "The Crack-down in Kashmir," published on February 28, 1993, records what happened: "In August 1992, the Indian Government launched a brutal new offensive in the Kashmir Valley called Operation Tiger, which was characterized by surprise raids and search operations designed to capture and kill militant leaders. Summary

executions of detainees increased during this period. A second security operation, code-named Operation Shiva, followed."

Earlier, on November 22, 1992, the NEW YORK TIMES Magazine published Mr Edward A Gargan's report on the escalation: "As Indian security forces expanded their operations, tales of horror began to emerge from distant villages and from the narrow alleyways of Srinagar... Guerrillas have been killed in the Indian Government's onslaught. But so have the unarmed: old men, women, children."

Since mention of Asia Watch or Amnesty brings angry froth to the mouths of officials, it bears mention that its report records in explicit terms Pakistan's involvement "in arming and training Kashmiri militants" and devotes an entire chapter to "Militant Abuses." It appends in full the Government's response to the report sent to it earlier in draft which is sweeping in its denials and abrasive in its rhetoric.

Evidently, each side feels that time is on its side. Having conceived, plotted and set up the armed insurgency, exploiting the alienation brought about by Indian policies, Pakistan calculates that it has India on the run and its position would get increasingly worse, diplomatically and militarily. India thinks it has the militants on the run and it is a matter of time before the people are pacified—and "normalcy" is restored. If it can, Pakistan will fight to the last Kashmiri. The spilling of their blood and the crimes its agents commit in the valley do not bother it in the least. It knows that it cannot grab Kashmir by war, though.

#### **Alienation**

India is also aware of that. The total alienation of the people does not disturb much. It hopes to master the situation and impose its dispensation. Dr Farooq Abdullah's remarks on April 18 should jolt it out of its cynical complacency: "The atrocities that go on in the Valley have forced the people there to hate India." His lapses and failings are enormous. But he has been a consistent advocate of the State's continued accession to India. No animus motivates this indictment or the one he made on June 25, 1992. People were simply whisked away. Security forces took away children of many people whose whereabouts were not known. Significantly, he cited complaints against "para-military personnel," not the army.

Around the same time a correspondent in the State, who is strongly critical of the militants, wrote how the mood of the people had begun to change in the four months from March-June, 1992, when one excess after another occurred in one fortnight of July alone. A mere tyre-burst in the Hari Singh High Street in Srinagar was mistaken for a bomb blast "leading to indiscriminate shooting by the security men." Seven were killed and several injured.

On July 4, 10,000 persons from six localities in the city were forced by these forces to come out of their homes to subject themselves to an identification parade at the

dead of night. It ended in the early hours of the morning. Even a DSP, Mr Bashir Ahmed Jaloo, was not spared despite his presenting his identity card.

In August, 1992, came "Operation Tiger" and with it a pattern of outrages—a sharp rise in custodial deaths from four a month to 54 in October and 32 in the first fortnight of November, 1992, according to the records kept meticulously by the late H.N. Wanchoo: "cordon and search" operations during which suspects are picked up and in many cases tortured and even killed; torching of whole buildings in a row.

It is amazing how little indignation has been aroused in the country considering the gravity of the crimes committed by para-military forces. Consider three cases in all of which BSF personnel are alleged to have been involved. On October 15, 1992, at Badasgam the sonic boom of aircraft was mistaken to be the sound of a blast. A locality was combed and a number of houses set on fire. Three persons were burnt to death.

#### **Over-Reaction**

No words need be expended to recount the crime at Sopore on January 6 this year. Militants attacked a BSF picket injuring two security personnel and snatched away a light machine-gun. An hour later, a 40-strong BSF platoon arrived in armoured trucks, opened fire in the crowded market place and set fire to the shops. It spread to five residential neighbourhoods. Vehicles were set ablaze. 250 shops and 50 homes were destroyed; 45 were killed and 300 injured. A correspondent of a journal of repute called it part of "the established State policy of over-reaction." Those who disagree should remember that instances of "over-reaction" occurred in Sopore alone six times in the last three years and that, according to Mr Noorudding Dand, who recently retired as Assistant Commissioner of Baramulla, it was the 14th such incident in the last three years.

The gory tale was repeated at the historic Lal Chowk in Srinagar on April 10. To his credit, the Governor, General Rao, went to the site and listened to the residents' complaints. An estimated 200 shops in two hotels and 50 homes were gutted there and across the Badshah Chowk localities, Kokerbazar and Maisuma. Police officials admitted to newsmen that BSF personnel were responsible. One of them told the Press that he himself had been fired upon. "He also alleged that securitymen bolted the residential houses and hotels from outside and people were trapped. State policemen rescued a large number of people; otherwise, the toll might have been higher, he said and added that he alone rescued six persons from a hotel despite the threat on life by the BSF men." After the usual official prevarication followed an inquiry—by a Divisional Commissioner.

On April 9, the Director-General of Police, Mr B.S. Bedi, said that most of the top militants of various outfits had been killed in different "encounters" with the security forces. The "success" has been bought at an exorbitant price. These "encounters" are not all. There are credible

reports of rape and looting. That is why even Dr Farooq Abdullah could bring himself to say that the people "hate India." Mere moral indignation, we are told, cannot help in formulating policy. They, whose indignation prevents them from calm reflection, are surely to be pitted. But they who lack the capacity for moral indignation deserve to be despised.

[28 Apr p 8]

[Text] Despite the repression, there is no prospect of any "normalcy" being restored between now and September 2, 1993, when the Proclamation of July 18, 1990, imposing President's Rule in the State expires. It cannot be extended without constitutional amendment. Elections to the State Assembly must therefore be held before that date if a collapse of the constitutional edifice is to be averted. For the process of constitutional amendment is barred even if one were to go by the dishonest device adopted by New Delhi in league with successive Chief Ministers of Kashmir. As pointed out in these columns earlier, Article 370 of the Constitution of India cannot be misused to amend the Constitution of India in its application to the State without the consent of its Constituent Assembly which ceased to exist on November 17, 1956.

#### Ploy

New Delhi adopted the ploy of securing amendments through the consent of the State Government. Two executive authorities could, thus, amend the supreme law, which created them. Dr Rajendra Prasad pronounced it as utterly objectionable. In 1986 New Delhi got its own nominee, the Governor, Mr Jagmohan, to accord consent while he governed the State under Governor's rule under the State Constitution. Today, even this dark alley is barred.

Not only is the State under President's rule, but the Centre is on record as saying that it could not seek the consent of the Governor of U.P., after the imposition of President's rule, for reference of the Ayodhya cases to the Supreme Court under Article 138(2) of the Constitution; on March 24, for instance. If the consent of the Governor while the State is under direct Central rule is invalid or improper as a sanction for reference of cases to the Apex Court, how can it be a sanction for a constitutional amendment?

Unless, therefore, elections to the State Assembly are held before September 1, there will be no lawful State Government functioning under the Constitution of India and of the State from the next day. Only the Centre's authority under these Constitutions will survive. But law and order is a State subject. What is the alternative? A Proclamation of Emergency? If it is on the ground of "internal disturbance" it yet requires the consent of the State Government.

However, Part XVIII of the Constitution of India, embodying the emergency provisions, was extended to the State on May 14, 1954, after Sheikh Abdullah's

dismissal from office as Prime Minister of the State and his arrest along with his colleagues. It was, moreover, made with the mere "concurrence" of the State Government after the Constituent Assembly had been "convened" on October 31, 1951. Article 370(2) enables the State Government to give its concurrence only "before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened." The State Government has no right to accord any concurrence to a constitutional amendment thereafter. In his note of September 6, 1952, President Rajendra Prasad questioned "the competence of the President to have repeated recourse to the extraordinary powers conferred on him" by Article 370.

But assuming the President is advised to make a Proclamation of Emergency on the ground of threat of external aggression, however invalid that may be, it will nonetheless come up under another obstacle. Even during the emergency the Constitution envisages a lawfully existing State Government. The Proclamation only enhances the Centre's powers. It does not get rid of the State Government. In most cases Central authority is exercised through the State Government. Of what avail the Proclamation of Emergency when the State Government will have died a constitutional death on September 3?

Be it remembered that, as Mr Chavan admitted on March 1, 1993, Article 370 is "the only link" that India has with Kashmir. If it is "abrogated," its national consequences would have to be considered, he warned. So also if it is violated repeatedly and brazenly, one might add. Mr Chavan said the Government was not averse to "greater autonomy" if it led to a "final solution." The militants have spurned the offer as they did the earlier invitation to talks.

#### Dilemma

The dilemma is seemingly insoluble. At his Press conference on June 30, 1992, the Prime Minister asked: "Whom should we talk to? Are you going to have a settlement with a representative Government or with anybody else?" But before elections are held, "the cult of the gun must cease." That explains the scenario on which he has been working—destroy the militants, hold elections and settle with the Government elected in that clime. It will be much easier. There are two flaws. Even if armed militancy is ended, the alienation will remain. Besides, for all the excesses by the militants, they do enjoy public support, especially the pro-independent JKLF. It is "futile to expect the people to turn against them."

There is, however, an alternative scenario to work upon—rescind the Orders made under Article 370 from May 14, 1954, onwards and restore the State's autonomy to what it was under the Delhi Agreement of July, 1952, between Jawaharlal Nehru and the Sheikh; seek talks and, regardless of a negative response, work on a whole set of conciliatory, ameliorative measures till the middle

ground held by advocates of conciliation in the State is widened significantly and hold elections.

Pakistan can be expected to do its best to foil this move. But, as Lt.-Gen. D.S.R. Sahni, GOC-in-C of Northern Command, told the Press on January 3, 1993, the army has been able to stop infiltration or exfiltration with its three-tier system of border sealing. There are now 7,000 to 8,000 militants having over 4,000 items of arms. Significantly, the mushroom groups are mostly of the pro-Pakistan variety. As one of their leaders admitted, this was to prevent any single group from settling up. Pakistan wants to retain its control over them.

### BBC Interview

However, the Pakistan-factor cannot be wished away. Dr Farooq Abdullah surprised many when in his famous BBC interview on August 15, 1992, he asserted that Kashmir was a disputed issue to be resolved among all the three parties concerned—India, Pakistan and Kashmir. On February 6, 1993, he said that, first, Kashmir will have to sort out matters with India and then Pakistan will have to be involved to seek a final solution.

An India-Pakistan dialogue can proceed simultaneously with the processes of conciliation in Kashmir. The parameters of the first should be neither as restrictive as the Prime Minister spelt out in his reply of August 24 to Mr Nawaz Sharif's letter of July 14 proposing talks, nor should it be as wide as Pakistan insists. Cessation of Pakistani aid must be the first item on the agenda but not the only one. Pakistan's fear is that if it ends its aid, India will settle with Kashmir leaving it high and dry as in 1975. This is no longer a practical proposition in 1993. But nor can India allow Pakistan to set the terms for its dialogue in Kashmir.

What India can do is to provide proof of its earnestness to Kashmiris and assure Pakistan that it is prepared to discuss the Kashmir question seriously, albeit neither on the basis of the UNCIP's plebiscite resolutions nor on any form of secession. It is prepared to recognize Pakistan's interest in a constitutional solution guaranteeing Kashmir's Azadi within the Union provided Pakistan, in turn, recognizes India's interest in a similar set-up in POK. It is unrealistic to expect it to settle on the basis of the status quo when it already has what we magnanimously offer it with the frills of a porous border.

[29 Apr p 8]

[Text] The battle has to be won in the State itself. Victory will be far easier to achieve if the Indo-Pakistan dialogue is kept up in earnest while steps are taken simultaneously to win the people's support. The firmness of the limitations of the first must be matched by the generosity of the second without in any way reducing the dialogue to a mere charade. That will be destructive.

To mention some of the steps, first and foremost a Human Rights Commission must be set up in the State

consisting of persons who would command the confidence of the people. Secondly, if in 1974 Britain could ask a Committee headed by a former Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner, to consider measures to deal with terrorism in Northern Ireland which were "consistent to the maximum extent practicable in the circumstances with the preservation of civil liberties and human rights," there is no reason why India cannot emulate the example in Kashmir urgently.

### Inquiry

Thirdly, a high-level inquiry into the outrages since January 1990 is called for: preferably, a Commission of Inquiry set up under the law or an unofficial body to which the State pledges its full cooperation. The people of the State sorely need some impartial independent authority to whom they can pour out their woes. The importance of this step cannot be exaggerated. It must consist of persons of manifest integrity.

Fourthly, the people of India need to be told the truth as well. In the wake of Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal, Messrs Madhu Limaye and Sadiq Ali went to Kashmir on behalf of the PSP and submitted a report: A similar exercise now will be of enormous value. Fifthly, India must encourage the leaders of the three regions of the State to meet and particularly those of the Valley to meet amongst themselves. Intra-Valley dialogue should be a prelude to one between Kashmiris on both sides of the line of control.

### Seminar

On June 5, 1992, two days after his release from jail, Mr Shabir Sidiqi, publicity chief of the JKLF, proposed a State-level seminar to find a "peaceful and lasting solution" to the Kashmir tangle. "It will not be a one-sided affair and people from all walks of life, all faiths, all the three regions of the State, will be invited. We are going to invite some known pro-India intellectuals so that we get to know others' viewpoint also." Which of the parties will such conferences help? Those who favour a dialogue or the ones who wield the gun? Around the same time the JKLF chief, Mr Amanullah Khan, and the Panthers' chief, Mr Bhim Singh, proposed a conference at Rawalakot of leading figures in the State residing in all its parts. Pakistan opposed it, India was no wiser.

Mirwaiz Maulvi Umar Farooq, chief of the Awami Action Committee, announced on December 25, 1992, that an all-party meeting of political and religious bodies would be held two days later. The conference set up an eight-member committee, the first of its kind in recent years. Its task was to formulate a "common action plan" to face "violations of human rights in the valley." On March 9 an All-Parties Freedom Conference was set up.

Mr Mohammed Azam Inquilabi, a top militant leader now in Britain, urged "a secular solution" on February 3 and warned that if India "fails to respond now to the call of the moderates, it will lose Kashmir." He proposed a conference of Kashmiris in a neutral country. He was



bitter about the Hizbal Mujahideen's murder of his close colleague, Mr Maqbool Malik. Why, even the POK's "Premier" proposed to Dr Farooq Abdullah a conference in a neutral country.

Lastly, not all the militant leaders are sophisticated. Their exposure to Indian and foreign journalists and academics will be of much help in injecting a sense of the realities. Last August, Tim Gopsill and Vanina Struk went to Kashmir on behalf of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group. Why prevent others?

Realism is the need of the hour. The militants must realize that the third opinion is a mirage. India must realize that Kashmir has become a matter of international concern, the human rights record particularly.

#### Ideas

Seminars and conferences independently organized will help considerably in lowering the temperature and in throwing up ideas once the Government begins to implement the steps listed above. This will facilitate a ceasefire. That will not be a single act but the result of a series of confidence-building measures on all sides. Elections will be the climax to this process. If India were to launch determinedly, sincerely a process of conciliation, it will not fail to influence those who matter—the people of the State.

**Jammu Seen Suffering From Kashmir Militancy**  
93AS0836G Bombay BOMBAY SUNDAY OBSERVER  
in English 2 May 93 pp 12, 16

[Article by Mannika Chopra: "Jammu Region Becomes Crucible of Contention"]

[Text] Ask any Indian to do some free association about Jammu and Kashmir and chances are that the images that will emerge are those of paramilitary forces, militants brandishing AK-47 rifles, bomb blasts, kidnappings—in short, all the symbols of a State under siege. For the 29-odd lakh inhabitants of Jammu region, however, the reality is somewhat different.

It is not the done thing to ask any Jammuite how militancy in the valley has affected their lives. To do so would not only be a little insensitive, but it would also ignore what dogs the minds of most residents of Jammu: How the Center in its enthusiasm to reach a settlement in Kashmir has studiously ignored the claims and aspirations of the people from this region. While there are signs of activity in the valley, with Minister of State for Home Rajesh Pilot zooming in for talks with Governor K.V. Krishna Rao and Dr. Farooq Abdullah, in Jammu political rigor mortis has set in: The congress state unit is busy with factional fighting, the Bharatiya Janata Party appears to be concentrating on exposing the injustices heaped on Jammu even as the National Conference is waiting for the new Messiah to jolt it out of masterly inactivity.

Indeed, the second class status worries Jammu even more than the fact that militant-related incidents in this region, too, have escalated. At last count, 43 civilians, police and security forces personnel have died; 130 bomb and rocket explosions have taken place. Normally circumspect bureaucrats like Girish C. Saxena, the state's former governor, admit that "the fear about growing militancy is negligible as compared to the perception that Jammu is being neglected even though this may not be validated by facts." Dr. Karan Singh, Sadar-i-Riyasat of the state of Jammu and Kashmir for 18 years, and whose ancestors have been in touch with the history of Jammu for a millenia, concurs. Both Karan Singh and Saxena are only too aware how powerful a role perceptions play in moulding history's fortunes—much more than cold hard facts.

But let us forget those who rule and have ruled. Listen to the voice of the people: To Ved Bhasin, editor KASHMIR TIMES, a leading newspaper published from Jammu; to Shaukat Ali, the owner of the Taj hotel located on Jammu's busy Residency Road and president of the Youth Muslim Federation, to Chowdhury Muhammad Sharif, a Gujjar from Kupwara who has settled in Pony, near Rajouri, to the tahsildar of Menhdar, and you hear a universal cry of lamentation: Jammu has been hard done by in the past by its political masters and the process is continuing. Ghosts of the past haunt the present. Why did Sheikh Abdullah, Sheri-i-Kashmir, never look to Jammu as a catchment area for state political leadership?

Unfortunately, these perceptions of neglect have transmuted themselves into facts, thus providing ideal propaganda material for those who talk of a Muslim conspiracy. Fact One: That no chief minister of J&K has hailed from Jammu; Fact Two: That while a medical college in Srinagar has been functioning for so many years Jammu is still in the process of completing the project. Fact Three: That although the question of regional imbalance was addressed by the Gajendragadkar Commission more than 20 years ago and Sikh Commission, nothing has come of their recommendations; Fact Four: That the recent delimitation of legislative assembly constituencies has increased Jammu's share from 32 to 37 while Kashmir retain its preeminent position with 46 from an earlier allocation of 42. This, even though the population is "almost at par" after the influx of Kashmiri migrants into Jammu is taken into account. The list of grievances can be extended.

Add to this discontentment, the economic crisis which is multiplying thanks to the diversion of funds for security purposes. Salaries of government employees in Jammu are not paid in time, leading last July to officials demonstrating in Udhampur and Kathua. The major worry is rising expenditure on account of maintenance of internal security. In 1991-92, Rs.107.69 million was spent on extra security administration. The estimate for the current year is a staggering Rs.112.43 million.



Lest the readers misunderstand, this sense of neglect is not merely a question of an inequitable sharing of loaves and fishes. Nor, much as the BJP and its affiliated organizations would want us to believe, is it the pampering of the Kashmiri Muslims at the cost of the Jammu Hindu. Quite simply, the feeling of being ignored stems from the non-recognition of the fact that the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a multi-regional, multi-ethnic one. Indeed, Jammu and Kashmir, is shorthand for at least five major and regional groupings. To ignore this is to ignore political reality.

Balraj Puri, academic, columnist, human rights activist and author of "Jammu: The Clue to the Kashmir Tangle," says: "Just as Kashmir is not a Muslim problem, Jammu is not a Hindu problem. The problem is one of ethnic identity; of cultural homogeneity." To this Karan Singh adds: "Let us accept the fact that the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a multi-regional, multi-linguistic state: These five areas comprise, the northern areas of Gilgit, Chitral, which are under the control of Pakistan; PoK which is in the western area; Ladakh with its preponderance of Tibetan culture; Jammu and Kashmir. The valley which is actually the smallest region occupies only 8,639 sq miles out of a total area of 84,000 sq miles." In short, Kashmir does not represent the entire state of J & K. To do so would ignore the sentiments of the rest of the state.

Under the recent initiative to start a political process Farooq Abdullah has repeatedly said the Center should revert back to its position as outlined in the 1952 Delhi agreement. What are the major provisions of this agreement? They include:

The Center's jurisdiction confined to only three subjects, namely defense, foreign affairs and communication.

Limited jurisdiction of the Election Commission and Supreme Court in the state and no integration of administrative services.

It also provided that Kashmir would be allowed to fly its own flag, but not as a rival to the tricolor which would reign supreme.

The exclusive privileges of permanent residents of the state (state subjects) granted by the Maharaja in 1927 to be preserved.

According to Puri, to use only this parameter (the 1952 agreement) for the whole state would be suicidal. Since J&K consists of distinct identities, to deal with it as one territorial and ethnic entity would be self-defeating. Moreover, to confine a dialogue between three entities, the Government of India, Kashmir and, as both Farooq Abdullah and Karan Singh have publicly stated, Pakistan, would not lead to the resurrection of a state, but its dissolution.

Puri makes the problems sound like a riddle in which ethnic multiplicity combines with hide-bound cast consciousness: "J&K is a Muslim majority state containing

regions which are either Buddhist or Hindu dominated. Within the regions exist districts with a Muslim majority, which, in turn, contain blocks which are dominated by a different community. At every level, caste and biradari (brotherhood) play an important role." Not surprising therefore that in this caste-cum-ethnic spiral, a special status for each community is carved out. If Karan Singh is miffed that the Dogri language has not been added to the Eighth Schedule, it is because he is conscious of his role as an erstwhile Dogra ruler. By categorising Gujjars as a Scheduled Tribe, the government has pandered to the Congress vote bank, but in the process the Paharis feel neglected: All in all, Jammu today has become a crucible of contention, regional aspirations melting with economic distress.

"Another dimension of the problem is what is going to be the status of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh vis-a-vis each other? For 45 years, you have treated the problem as one and resultantly you have alienated the Dogras and the Ladakhis," says Karan Singh.

Kashmiri Muslims only comprise 28 million of the state's population, according to the 1981 census. That is not to say there are no Muslims in other parts of the state. But the animosity between the Gujjars and Rajput Muslims who dominate other parts of the state and the Kashmiri Muslims is legion.

If some kind of autonomy is granted to Kashmir, what will its after-effects be on Jammu? After all, as Chowdhury Nizamuddin, a strapping Gujjar from Mendhar, said: "You can't give one child something and ignore the other two. However, regional autonomy is not what organizations like the Jammu Mahasabha, a loose federation of like-minded groups, necessarily want. The Mahasabha insists that it does not have any political affiliations, but wants a recognition of Jammu's identity and unconditional merger with India even at the cost of the partition of Jammu and Kashmir into three regions: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

At another level, what happens to the Kashmiri pandits, migrants who fled the valley only to be ensconced in camps at Nagrota, Indira Nagar and Muthi? All told, there are 28,953 families currently in Jammu totaling up to 2.5 million people. Families such as Pushkar Bhatt's live in a one room tenement. His six-member family receives Rs.1,000 per month and free rations.

Bhatt is convinced that the Kashmiri Pandits will never go back to the valley unless the Center agrees to give them a special cordoned-off area in the region. They call this Promised Land, Panun Kashmir, literally Our Kashmir. They have even outlined a region, north and west of the river Jhelum.

Generally, the Jammu resident is not very sympathetic to the Kashmiri Pandit, whom s/he [as printed] sees as one reason why the economic fabric of the region is being stretched.

The bitterness grows. So does the uncertainty. Chamanlal Gupta, state BJP president, feels there cannot be cut and dried solutions emanating from Delhi to be imposed at will on Jammu. He asserts that the creation of the state was itself artificial and the principal of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity that was used to form Punjab and Bengal should be applied here.

Today, Jammu is tortured by the question what it should be? Part of the spirit of Kashmiryat which according to M.J. Akbar's "Kashmir, Behind the Vale" denoted a spirit in which a Sheikh could proudly call a pandit his blood brother and make common cause against Islamic fanaticism and Hindu fascism. After all, wasn't this spirit of Kashmiryat embodied in Sheikh Abdullah himself whose grandfather was a Hindu?

Or will Jammu swerve to the side of Punjabinat the influence of which is seen everywhere from tandoori tabhas to the language, a mixture of Dogri and Punjabi, which is spoken widely here.

All these questions should caution the policy makers to the extreme vulnerability of the region. It is never difficult to destabilize a region or to tear the fabric of communal amity of which Jammu is justifiably proud.

The city of Jammu has never flaunted its status as a state capital, but perhaps this year when the Durbar moves to Srinagar on May 7 and with these obvious ripples of uneasiness, Jammu, the capital of the Dogra rulers, will feel the need to do so.

### **300,000 Kashmiri Hindu Refugees Said Neglected by Government**

93AS0836H Bombay *THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA* in English 7 May 93 pp 20-23

[Article by C.P. Surendran: "Growing Old in Another Home"]

[Text] There is no place for camps. Nevertheless, there are 32 migrant camps flung all over Jammu, a dusty town tense and confused because of the Kashmir fallout. The Kashmir valley is not far. If the weather is good it is around seven hours' steady drive to Srinagar—provided you are not a Kashmiri Pandit. The Kashmiri Pandit is a Saraswat Brahmin. That makes him a Hindu, which in turn makes life difficult. The community's presence in the valley works out to around 3 per cent of the 31 lakh strong population, 96 per cent of which is Muslim. The Kashmiri Pandit believes he is the original inhabitant of the Valley. The keener among them trace their history back 5,000 years. And a lot of people don't believe them. The cynics are also militant Muslims who have taken to guns for Kashmir's independence. And because of them the displaced Kashmiri Pandit may never make that drive to the Valley; if he ever does, the ride will be longer than seven hours, and don't blame the weather.

"It is all in the stars," as Makhanlal Trakroo, of Transport Nagar Camp, says, half to himself and half to his

other self, left wandering in the mists of Kashmir nearly three years ago. He and his family are part of a 300,000 exodus that scooped itself up in anything that moved out of the valley, away from the sway of the militants. The exodus began in the winter of '89, picked up some urgent speed after January 19 of the next year, when the militants belonging to the pro-Pak terrorist organisation Hisbullah Mujahiddin, announced by means of cassettes and loudspeakers that Kashmiri Hindus should quit, or be killed: the procession continued till the summer of '91. Trakroo, like nearly 70 per cent of those who made the exit, chose to settle in Jammu and the rest trekked further down to Delhi. They number a little over 200,000.

That was three years ago. Trakroo, his wife and three children have not got through settling down yet. Nor have the 90 families staying with him in the unfinished four-storeyed structure, raised on pillars and glued together, as it were, by filth. The structure belongs to the Geological Society of India. The hundreds of migrants in it belong nowhere. The place, Transport Nagar too, is a bit of a nowhere. It is on the outskirts of the city; access is difficult. The rooms are wall-less. Old sarees, rags and illusions of privacy separate family territories. Almost all of the residents are ravaged by depression. Almost all of them talk almost all the time of their houses in the Valley and the good times they had. And almost all of them sit idle waiting for nothing to happen. Fifty-eight-year-old Mohan Lal Dhar, of Transport Nagar camp, is an exception. He sits out his days on a stone on the highway rushing past the camp site, instead of joining his wife and two daughters back in the room, and then does what they all do: waiting for nothing to happen. "Mussibat se mare chal rahe hain," he says and stares down at his feet with his one good eye; the other is an unseeing unhappy blue, the gift of a fight. He is a sight; a tattered coat upon a stick leaning his weight against the wind. He gets from the government a dole of Rs 1,000 and it does not get him—or the government—anywhere. "I had two medical shops in Srinagar, and a large house. Everything is gone now. They gave me a warning letter and then started killing Hindus. I left." The trauma of the migration forced one of his daughters to discontinue her studies. Mohan Lal wanted her to be a doctor. This is unlikely now.

In Srinagar, three years ago, when Mohan Lal had his shops and his house and his two eyes intact, he was brave and so had worked out the destiny of his other daughter too. She would be an engineer. It is not quite clear to him how it would be possible now. She is good at studies. But that may not be of much use when the migrant school she goes to is roofless, wall-less, boardless and sometimes benchless; soulless, in short. If she does get through school, it still is no guarantee to a good degree. Her senior colleagues in the same camp have lost up to two years in the same class: Raju's first year BSc results in electronics are yet to be announced. He is 23 now, "and if I am not a graduate by 25, I will not be eligible to take quite a few job tests," he says.

That is likely to be an accurate prediction. The education scene of the migrant Kashmiri Pundit is a silly mess. The student is registered with the Kashmir University. His question papers are set in Srinagar. His classes are held in Jammu in migrant schools and colleges of huge shabbiness. His exams are taken in Jammu and his papers are evaluated in Kashmir. And he suspects foul play with his marks and answersheets. The system is designed to guarantee accidents. The migrant student is aware of this. His constant transit between nightmares of a kind denies him peace of mind. The students I saw were neurotic about their future, and poison-bitter about their past.

Dr L K Chaudhury, a migrant Hindu himself, and formerly a professor of medicine at Srinagar Medical College, points out that students are the worst hit among the migrants. The free clinic he runs has treated over 20 students in the age group of 16-22 for psychotic disorders. And others keep coming to him for illnesses caused by a changed environment, stress, fungal infections due to unhygienic living and innumerable stomach disorders.

According to Dr Chaudhury, "Among the older people, those skilled take the brunt. They get their salary still. But the administration has no use for their skills. They have nothing to do. And in this sort of political atmosphere frustration can lead to dangerous ideas." Dr Chaudhury knows what he is talking about, because apart from treating patients and being familiar with case experiences, he himself is a victim of the lazy hours. "I get my pay packet, but what about my talent? I have over 25 years of experience in medicine and the government does not want me to work. It is a colossal mismanagement of human resources.

So it is. But the fact is that the Jammu administration is just not big enough to absorb the migrants and their skills. As one official puts it, "Jammu's economy is too weak to support its own people. How do you expect migrants to be absorbed too?" A good, old point. But not good enough or old enough to justify the administration's near perfect apathy to the migrants.

The refugee camps I saw were in very bad shape. The one housed in the basement of a State Trading Corporation building, for instance, is, in one word, disturbing. Sanitation and privacy are nonexistent concepts. The flimsy, plastic tents are optical delusions: they protect the refugees neither from heat nor from cold, which are extremes in Jammu. The truck drivers and other nocturnal spirits who stay in the vicinity are more than just nuisance value to the women residents. They are actual threats. Nothing has changed for them in the last three years. And nothing has moved the government to effect a change in three years.

The misery approximates to the absolute because almost all of them have the valley permanently stretched tight across their eyes and the sure knowledge that there is no going back. As in the case of the Bombay riot victims—most of them Muslims—they do not have much to go

back to either. They visibly suffer from the certitudes of their situation. According to Dr Agni Shekhar, convenor of Pannun Kashmir (an organisation fighting the rights of the Pundits to a homeland in the valley), thousands of houses belonging to the migrants have been burnt down or vandalised. (A highly placed government official put the number down to 150, however.) The killings too are pretty bad. Vijay Kanjroo, of Murthi camp, once a rich textiles businessman, but now a refugee and a patient of racking cough, says "We will never be able to go back. They will just line us up and shoot. Why can't the government just sell our property and give us the money?" The government is not clear on this. It is not clear about casualties too. Pannun Kashmir officials say over a thousand persons have been killed so far by the militants. They have names, dates, addresses, everything. Again, the administration thinks the figure is highly exaggerated, but has so far failed to get a fix on the exact magnitude of the disaster themselves.

They are not likely to get it for some time yet. Kashmir is in a state of war. In vast areas of the valley, you cannot get about without a letter of permission from leaders of the JKLF or Hisbullah Mujahiddin. In such circumstances there is no going back for the Pundits. The trouble is that they have nowhere else to go either. Sooner or later the J&K administration will have to face the question every Pundit asks himself in his helplessness: whose responsibility are we? If the government knows the answer, so far they have kept it a secret.

#### **Pakistan Said Still in Search of Identity, Rationale**

*93AS0813A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
28 Apr 93 p 5*

[Article by Ray Singh: "Even Today, Pakistan is in Search of the Rationale for its Existence"]

[Text] Pakistan was born after the Indian partition on 14 August 1947. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, had proposed an Islamic nation within India in the All India Muslim League Conference on 23 March 1940. This proved to be the foundation stone of India's partition. Jinnah laid the foundation stone for Pakistan, and later established it. However, he could not decide how a Muslim country would be run, and on what principles. Jinnah himself was raised in a Western cultural environment. He leaned towards Western democracies more than toward Islamic politics based on the Islamic religion. Jinnah married a Parsi woman, but his dynasty could not continue. There were many other psychological inclinations that isolated Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah from his Muslim supporters. It is obvious that he could not make a right decision about Pakistan's future and about its administrative ideology.

As a politician, Jinnah did succeed in establishing Pakistan by raising the question of Islam to the British government. However, he had to depend on his Western mentality about administering Islam and moving it

forward. On 14 August 1947, when he announced the birth of Pakistan as a country, Jinnah said that every Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and Christian living in Pakistan would be called a Pakistani citizen. Each of them would have full freedom to practice his religion. Abdul Rab Nashtar, the Pathan leader in Pakistan, asked, "If he had to say that, why did he establish Pakistan?" This remark shows that a huge chasm already existed between Jinnah and his Muslim supporters. The way they pushed the Hindus living in Pakistan toward India shows that the Muslims of Pakistan did not need Muhammed Ali Jinnah any more. No one was ready to listen to him in Pakistan.

Muhammed Ali Jinnah's voice was suppressed; however, Pakistanis had no political option in front of them. Therefore, they began to run their government according to the British system that was already there. In 1979, then-President Zia-ul-Haq pointed toward this flaw, saying, "Our present political system is based on Western secular democratic rules, and these have no room for Islam in them." General Zia's comment clearly indicates that until 1979 Pakistani leaders were not able to find another political option for Pakistan. These leaders had always been beating the drum of Islam. General Zia-ul-Haq also said, "We will allow neither a Western type of government nor anarchy in Pakistan." Zia said that the country was established in the name of Islam, and that Islam has no room for the Western election system. In other words, Zia wanted to run the government in the name of Islam, and he did succeed in establishing this government in Pakistan.

General Zia had Ayub Khan's example. He had also taken over Pakistan with the help of the army, before Zia. The only difference between the two is that, compared to Ayub Khan, General Zia practiced and talked more about Islam. Ayub Khan used Islam in his speeches for embellishment only. General Zia, however, never tired of talking about Islam. General Ayub, in his autobiography, "Friend Not Owner," justified his martial law regime by saying that the Pakistani politicians who were fighting among themselves needed a strong hand that could control them and protect the country's economic interests. General Ayub also thought that the Western democratic system was not appropriate for Pakistanis. Therefore, he made "basic democracy" the base of Pakistani politics. Ayub's basic democracy had no room for political parties. Under this basic democracy, leadership was given to Ayub Khan and his selected military generals. Ayub Khan's experiment was not good for Pakistan. Therefore, when General Zia took over the country, he did not experiment like Ayub Khan had.

There was so much tension among the states within Pakistan from August 1947, when Pakistan was established, that if the Indian leaders had wanted, it would have taken less than three years to cause the total disintegration of Pakistan. People started to point fingers at Mohammed Ali Jinnah even when he was alive. When, in 1950, Pakistan's first prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated in broad daylight, it was clear

that Pakistanis, whether they were Pathans, Punjabis, Baluchis, or Sindhis, did not like the Muslim League leadership that had come to Pakistan from India. How could the people of that part accept Muslim League leaders as their leaders? Those leaders had never learned their language, they were not aware of their culture, and they did not know about their hopes and desires. That is why, after Jinnah's death and Liaquat Ali's assassination, no Pakistani mohajir could become Pakistan's prime minister or president. The Muslims that have moved from India to Pakistan since the partition are called the mohajirs. They are considered second-class, if not third-class, citizens. They have their own political party, the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], which has totally disintegrated. The Bangladesh of today used to be known as East Pakistan. Bengali Muslims were also considered second-class citizens in Pakistan. Pakistani Muslims themselves killed hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi Muslims in 1971, and also committed many atrocities against them. If there are first-class citizens in Pakistan, then they are the Punjabi Muslims. The Pathans and Baluchis follow them. After them come the Sindhi Muslims, and at the end are the tribal Pathans and the tribal people living in Sarhadi Suba. This divided society in Pakistan is still looking for its Pakistani identity. After the establishment of Bangladesh, General Zia-ul-Haq had hoped that West Pakistan would unite with the Muslim nations of west Asia and form a strong Islamic unit. Before General Zia, General Ayub Khan had also tried to achieve this goal under a national unity slogan. He said that Pakistan was one country with two units, meaning that East and West Pakistan were two units, and Pakistan was one nation because of its common religion, Islam. In 1971, when Bangladesh was established, Ayub Khan's slogan, "One Nation, Two Units," also died. At the same time, it was proved that a nation's foundations cannot be strengthened using religion alone. In order to strengthen a nation's foundation, we need to have many other things.

If we test Pakistan on the criterion of Islam alone, then it seems to be helpless. The unity of Islam is not based on variety. In other words, the Muslim does not tolerate diversity, and tries to see unity in it. In Islam, unity is based on one hub or a strong center. If we study Islamic empires in India, we will learn that every Muslim emperor established a hub or a center, then established his empire around it. For example, when Babar invaded India, he declared that Delhi was the hub of the Indian empire. It was important for him to make such an announcement, because he was then able to offer himself and his supporters a central point for establishing the Mogul empire in India. When this hub was lost by his son Hamayun, he had to run away and take refuge in Iran. In order to keep the hub of the Mogul empire, Aurangzeb had to give up his Mogul holdings in the south. He knew that if he could not keep control of the hub of Delhi, then he could not become the Mogul emperor. If we look at it objectively, we will learn that Shivaji had to remain a regional king, because he never thought that he had to control the hub Delhi if he wanted

to end the Mogul empire. Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, does give birth to some Islamic feelings; however, Pakistanis are not willing to accept it as a hub of Pakistan. They consider it a synthetic central point. The traditional city in Pakistan is Lahore, which even the Mogul emperors have praised, and which has been the capital of many kingdoms. However, Pakistan's creator, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, decided to make Karachi Pakistan's capital instead of Lahore. Even he could not make it the hub of Pakistan. Then Rawalpindi was selected. Later, Islamabad could not become the central point in Pakistan. Therefore, mentally and psychologically, the Pakistani people could not fulfill even the first principle of Islam.

At this time, the fired prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, has made Lahore his hub and has established a platform against President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Islamabad. Actually, this fight is between the prime minister who was elected by the people and the president who entered power under the 1978 Constitution, written by General Zia. At another level, this fight is between two hubs of Islamic Pakistan: Lahore and Islamabad. General Zia amended the Pakistani Constitution a total of 272 times in order to keep himself in power. Among these amendments, the Eighth Amendment was the most important. As a result of this amendment, President Zia dismissed the Muslim League Party's Prime Minister Junejo. Ghulam Ishaq Khan also took advantage of the Eighth Amendment to dismiss Benazir Bhutto, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] prime minister. On 18 April of this year he let go Nawaz Sharif, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] leader. It is interesting that on 18 April Benazir Bhutto praised the Eighth Amendment, against which she had made so much noise and wanted to repeal when President Ishaq Khan used it as a lightening bolt against Nawaz Sharif. There was no ethical, Islamic reason for Benazir to welcome this. The reason for her jubilation was that Ghulam Ishaq Khan had asked for PPP support before dismissing Nawaz Sharif, in exchange for dropping all the charges against Benazir Bhutto and her husband, Aasif Zardari. He had also assured her that Zardari would become a minister. It is clear that Islamic ethics is a hollow phrase in Pakistani politics. The real story is of the chair of power. The central point of this chair is the fight between Lahore and Islamabad, and a search for the identity of Pakistan. All these are the goals for which the people and the leaders are fighting with each other. Only time will tell who will succeed, and by how much.

#### **Mojahedin Official Insists on Kashmir Referendum**

93AS0790A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
28 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by Jamal Isma'il: "Kashmir Mojahedin Party Rejects Settlement Plans Offered by India; Party Official to AL-HAYAH: There Can Be no Solution Without General Referendum in Accordance With UN Resolutions"]

[Text] Karachi—In an interview with AL-HAYAH, Professor Ashraf Sarraf, a leader of the Kashmir Mojahedin Party, which is fighting for secession from India, projected the strategic international dimension of the conflict that has been sweeping the state for three years and that has claimed tens of thousands of casualties.

He said that from this perspective, the crux of the conflict is the Indian-U.S. collusion versus the possibility of the rise of a strong Islamic front in the region, with Pakistan as its mainstay and with Afghanistan and the Central Asia Islamic countries that have risen on the debris of the former Soviet Union as participants.

#### **Kashmir Incidents**

Sarraf, who is a partner in the leadership of the party that demands accession to Pakistan and that is the biggest party in the conflict being waged by Kashmir against India's rule, has linked the Kashmir incidents with the major political crisis being experienced by Pakistan and embodied in the dismissal of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

He said that the dimension of the issue that hasn't received adequate attention from the media is the U.S. pressures on Pakistan and the threat to include Pakistan in the list of terrorism-supporting countries, primarily because of its support for the Islamic uprising in Kashmir.

Sarraf added that Sharif exerted strong efforts against these pressures and succeeded in getting pledges of support from such big countries as Germany and Japan to make up for the loss of aid suspended by the United States. But Sharif was relieved before his efforts could bear fruit.

#### **U.S. Pressures**

He noted that the United States has exerted these pressures to help India with the difficulties it is facing in Kashmir, embodied in the armed struggle which New Delhi has failed to contain throughout these years and which continues to escalate despite India's heinous practices against the citizens.

As to the crisis confronting India in Kashmir—embodied in the lapse by next September of the period permitted by the constitution to suspend any state parliament and to impose central rule on the state, which means subsequently that new elections have to be held—Sarraf said that this issue does not concern the people in Kashmir because they do not acknowledge India's control of the province in the first place.

Sarraf also declared that the Mojahedin Party rejects the settlement plans circulated by the Indian Government, saying that they emanate fundamentally from U.S. and British suggestions to give Kashmir a greater degree of self-rule that takes it back to its pre-1953 condition. He stressed that Kashmir's people insist that there will be no

solution unless the New Delhi government acknowledges that Kashmir is not a part of India, as stipulated by UN resolutions on the issue.

As to joining Pakistan, the Kashmir leader said, "We can join any country in the world that defends right, justice, and Islamic fraternity." But he added, "We do not want Kashmir to become like Pakistan where feudalism and administrative corruption control the Pakistani people. We want both Pakistan and Kashmir to lead, not to be led."

### Motive Should be Self-Preservation

93P50189A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
1 May 93 p 4

[Commentary Condemning American Interference by Rajkishore: "This Type of Interference is Unnecessary"]

[Text] It is strange that India has great hopes that the United States will have Pakistan declared a terrorist sponsoring nation by the UN. It may be considered even stranger that some of the economic policies being introduced in India clearly under American pressure, are being met with mass disapproval. We may want to call it "American Economic Terrorism." It is anomalous to hope that a nation with such an image in India can take any decisive step in controlling Pakistan-supported terrorism. Since this world is full of such anomalies, it might not have mattered much, if it were in the interest of our nation. If the same action were to be the result of our weakness, cowardice, and dependence on others, then some serious thought must be given to it.

It is not clear if the United States has really been hurt by Pakistani terrorism. In a few cases there are some doubts, but nothing can be started based only on them. The gist of the report presented to the Senate leadership committee by Director James Woolsey of America's infamous spy outfit, is that Pakistan is training and arming the militants of Punjab and Kashmir. The report also mentions that The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] of Sri Lanka are being aided in this manner also. The LTTE has been harming India as well. This has been proved and this is the reason for the ban on that outfit in India. We have additional evidence against Pakistan. Only recently the Indian home minister told Parliament that the massive explosions of 12 March in Bombay were masterminded by Pakistan, and 20 persons had been trained in explosives at a deserted location near the Islamabad airport. In spite of public requests by the Indian prime minister, Pakistan has shown no interest in helping capture the Memon brothers, the key figures behind such a massive calamity.

It is clear that, as far as the question of state-sponsored terrorism goes, Pakistan has wronged India. Thus the legal responsibility and right to pursue action against Pakistan lies with India. What is the real interest in this regional matter for the United States, which is thousands of miles away from either of these South Asian nations? The United States has already shown even more interest

than this in western Asia—through the Iraq war. Let us not forget, however, that there was general condemnation of that war, and to this day, the appropriateness of that action taken under the umbrella of the United Nations Security Council, is in question. Many shocking and serious things have happened since then, but the United States is not doing anything about stopping them. In the case of Pakistan itself, its treatment by the United States does not show a good track record. During the cold war, when Pakistan conducted deplorable ethnic cleansing in Bangladesh, the United States did not strongly oppose it. Upholding democracy is said to form a significant part of the expansive American foreign policy, and yet, the credit for the little bit of democracy left in Pakistan goes to a plane crash, not to the United States. In this context, how can it be believed that the United States has any real interest in arresting terrorism, or that it will succeed in this task, or that it could have any role in improving Indo-Pakistani relations?

The last two questions are significant. Have those nations that the United States has declared terrorist nations changed in any way? Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Cuba are among such countries. The United States and its allies have boycotted them, in a manner of speaking. Yet, because this boycotting is especially inspired by political motives, these countries just consider the United States their enemy, rather than ceasing their actions. The United States too retaliates with hostility towards them. Enmity between nations is an ancient thing, and enough of humanity's resources have been wasted because of it. We have to give up tribal and feudal thinking and behavior, not only in our private lives, but also at the international level, because, enmity does not end evil but propagates it. It would be better to keep a transparent, principled, and democratic rebuilding of the world as the central objective in drawing up the standards for our bilateral relations. Whatever high ideals we would like to adopt as the standards for life inside the country, the same principles could guide life at the international level also. Then only the true extent of war or terrorism can be gauged.

If the United States brands Pakistan a terrorist-sponsoring nation, and thereby pleases India, what will the results be? Pakistan will consider the United States its enemy, and its anti-Indian activities will only increase. This measure will definitely prove costly for Pakistan's economy, but it will also serve to increase its extremism. Even if Pakistan puts on an act just to keep the United States satisfied for a while, its inner feeling will always be that the U.S. decision was condoned by India, and its traditional hostility towards India will only increase. American sympathies are greater towards India at present only because its market is much larger than that of Pakistan and is slowly opening up for multinational corporate investments. Already there is unfriendliness between the two countries, and with these fertilizers and water, this headache can only become permanent.

It should even be reconsidered if historically it was a wise thing for India to have participated in the freedom struggle of Bangladesh. We have always spoken of it with pride, even though we did not benefit from it in any way. It is also remarkable that our armies went all the way to Sri Lanka to protect that country from breaking apart, but helped it happen in Pakistan. It is true that the separation of Bangladesh was inevitable with or without Indian intervention, but at least, there would be no deep-rooted hostility for India in the national memory of Pakistan. Is it not a fact that, since the Bangladesh war, the scheming of Pakistan against India has increased, and would it be an exaggeration to say that it is specifically due to our army's role in that break up? Since Pakistan was not able to fight an open war, it has taken on a shadow war against India. It is true that the kind of cruelty being meted out to the Bangladeshis was not to be tolerated, but interfering was not the answer. India should have first exhausted all other options available to it, such as consulting international and multinational legal establishments. Before hurriedly creating another independent nation, every effort should have been undertaken to make Pakistan a true democracy, where all Pakistanis could live with respect. Instead, what was actually done does not reflect any goodwill on the part of the Indians for Pakistan. India was delighted to see Pakistan grow weaker. Hasn't a weaker Pakistan proved harder and sharper?

It should not be forgotten even for one moment that whatever happens in the end, the conflict between Pakistan and India is the fight between two brothers. Only when that basic friction is dealt with can this issue [of terrorism] be dealt with. After that the two nations will start acting like one, or at least learn to exist as friends. Until then the tension between them will manifest itself in various ways and may even result in a war. If there is even an inkling of farsightedness in the Indian establishment, it will fight any war against Pakistan not with hatred, but with dutiful determination only. It is being said that recently there was a possibility of a full blown war, but because of one covert American intervention, the armies did nothing. Well, maybe that was good. It is not good for India to be fuming with deep dissatisfaction about Pakistan either. Even if the Punjab-Kashmir issue were to be overlooked, the bomb explosions in Bombay were serious enough that proof of implication should warrant the strictest measures against Pakistan. Such measures could even include entering the border areas of Pakistan to completely destroy its army machine there. Indian life is not cheap, and they should be made to realize that, but not before all international and multinational resources at amelioration have been tried. Of course, we have been objecting to Pakistan's raising bilateral issues internationally—the border dispute and the Kashmir issue are some such issues—but when Pakistan becomes the monster that takes the lives of millions of Indians, that cannot be placed at the same level. This is raw terrorism, and we must not hesitate to counter it from all angles. It must, however, be guided

by goodwill towards our citizens, and in order to protect them, rather than by bad feelings for the Pakistanis. This is at any rate the love-hate relationship of brothers, and the intervention of any country like the United States is not recommended, since such help at best will only pit one brother against another, and the lake of goodwill will eventually dry up with no prospect for new water to flow in. Such matters should be dealt with internationally. If there has to be interference, it will have to be ordered by the UN, and if Pakistan were to be boycotted, may the maximum number of countries have the chance to join in.

Love towards Pakistan, goodwill towards its people, and, in matters of national security, a vigilance equaling the cheetah's should all guide our foreign policy towards Pakistan. Even if it may appear contradictory, it is not. Love does not mean sacrificing one's interests, although even that can be practiced for some time to set things straight—not as a sign of weakness, but as a sign of our determination to make things work. Actually, only a secure and determined, and yet generous and fair India, can establish a peaceful and stable climate in South Asia. For a very long time now, both the peoples of Pakistan and Bangladesh have been very displeased with their governments. If India could be a strong and secure, as well as fair, nation they will automatically look towards her with hope for leadership. But then, how pleased with their government are the Indians? It looks like the right kind of leadership can inculcate hope in South Asia and revive the pure desire for a practically undivided subcontinent. Thus, not only the lives and possessions of Indians, but the entire region, could progress toward a better future. This also shows that any country's foreign policy is in many respects an extension of its domestic policy.

### Internal Affairs

#### Nuclear Expert's Espionage Acquittal Upheld

93AS0802 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
20 Mar 93 p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, March 19—The supreme court yesterday ruled that a nuclear expert and former naval officer attached to the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre [BARC], Dr Bhudhikota Subbarao, who was accused of espionage five years ago, was rightly 'discharged' of the trial for want of government sanction to prosecute him.

In a significant judgment delivered by Mr Justice S.R. Pandian and Mr Justice R.M. Sahai, the court upheld the orders delivered by the Bombay high court and courts below in discharging Dr Subbarao, who was arrested at Bombay airport on May 30, 1988 when he was about to fly to New York to render consultancy to a multi-crore Indian company.

A successful computer scientist and doctorate in nuclear technology, Dr Subbarao had won a special Herbert Lott



memorial award for his inventions in improving the existing fighting devices of the navy, the court recorded.

Among the 'classified' documents that the investigating agencies were reported to have found in his possession leading to his arrest under the Official Secrets Act and the Atomic Energy Act were an identity card of the Indian armed forces, different types of India's maps, diagrams and computer information, and three books titled "Nuclear Power Plan, MNT Nuclear Submarine Propulsion Plant Design and Multi-point Satellite Links and Navnet System." In addition, the authorities concerned also seized an identity card issued to him by the naval department on his retirement, and some lamination papers.

Dr Subbarao's thesis and his speeches were the other 'secret' documents that the investigating agencies had found either from his residence or from his person at the airport. A book authored by him was stated to be an evidence to prosecute the nuclear scientist under the Official Secrets Act.

Without going into the merits of the case, the supreme court said it was necessary for the prosecution to have obtained sanction from the government for booking Dr Subbarao, a former BARC and naval officer.

The lower courts did not commit any error in holding that the entire proceedings against Dr Subbarao were vitiated as no cognisance of the offences could have been taken against him without complying with section 197 of the criminal procedure code (prior sanction).

Dismissing the Maharashtra government's appeal, the court said that keeping in mind the "mental suffering and financial loss" that Dr Subbarao had undergone due to the state government's repeated filing of revision applications and appeal before the apex court, he was entitled to Rs 25,000 as costs under the "peculiar circumstances of the case."

However, the court ordered expunction of adverse remarks and strictures passed on the state government and its standing counsel by the Bombay high court.

The court also ruled that no fraud was committed by the state government in framing charges against Dr Subbarao. The court said the high court's single judge "not only committed an error of procedure but misapplied the law" in setting aside the orders passed by his predecessor.

Another Maharashtra government's appeal allowed by the apex court overruled the strictures passed by Mr Justice Saldhana. He had said "Sharp practice" had been used by the state which had also suppressed facts, obtained orders by playing fraud upon the court. The high court's indictment had come when the state government got an ex parte stay against Dr Subbarao's foreign visit even when the matter had been pending before the judge concerned.

Dealing with the strictures passed by Mr Justice Saldhana, following the stay [having] been granted by another judge, the court noted that "sharp practice is not a court language. We are sorry to say so. Facts did not justify it. Legal propriety does not countenance use of such expressions favourably.

"The learned judge, to our discomfort, used very harsh language without there being any occasion for it," the court said adding that "we are constrained to observe our unhappiness on the manner in which the writ petition was summoned by Mr Justice Saldhana from the office, heard and decided."

On a motion by Dr Subbarao, the judge concerned had summoned the state government's writ petition on which another judge had restrained the accused from going abroad.

"A judge of the high court may have unchallenged and unfettered power to direct his office to list a case before him. But that by itself restricts the exercise of power and calls for strict judicial discipline," the apex court observed.

#### **Socialists Hold National Convention in Hyderabad**

93AS0820A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 23 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by C. Lokeswara Rao]

[Text] Hyderabad, March 22—The socialists in Indian politics have been like curry leaves. They lend a flavour but never really mattered. The late Mr Asoka Mehta was planning minister and Mr Madhu Dandavate was finance minister but Mr George Fernandes never quite grew beyond his maverick image.

Mr Fernandes was the prime motivator for the national convention of socialists held here over the weekend. The numbers did not matter but they all came in a spirit of stand-up-and-be-counted. It was agreed that the socialists scattered in different parties could come together on a platform called "Abhiyan" and run the socialist struggle committees for disseminating socialist thought and organising programmes from ward or village to national level.

The convention, it is hoped, could lead to campaigns which would eventually reactivate a united Socialist Party. Whether this turns out to be a dream or not, most participants were simply glad that they got together after a long while. The Jan Sanghis stuck together when they were in Janata in 1977-80, now why couldn't our leaders do so, muttered a delegate from Uttar Pradesh.

Mr Bezwada Pap Reddy, who boasts a unique record of having been elected to the legislative council, legislative assembly, Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, was pleased that the convention took place at a time when socialism had been discredited along with communism and there



seemed to be no opposition to West-oriented economic programmes. One reason why Indian socialism did not make much headway was its European orientation. We have our distinct culture and history. It is the right time for Indianised politics," said Mr Reddy. He was also happy that the initiative for the convention had come about before the physical exit of many of the old guards. Many of them who had followed Acharya Narendradev and Dr Ram Manohar Lohia had one foot in the grave.

The former Mayor of Bombay, Dr Shanti Patel, was glad over the choice of the issue for the Abhiyan's first major campaign—allotment of 6,000 hectares of land belonging to the Kandla Port Trust to a multinational company, Cargill for salt making. The Port Trust had been spending Rs 30 crores a year in dredging and the operations of the Cargill would completely silt the port area and lead to closure of the port itself.

The action programme also fell in line with the advice of the former prime minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar. Mr Chandra Shekhar, modestly termed himself as one who had made compromises on occasions, advised the socialists that they would make an impact only if they took up struggles on behalf of the farmers and the workers.

Mr V.P. Singh was not invited because he had never been known as a socialist. But Prof Dandavate seemed to have ignored the invitation to attend. Mr Syed Shabuddin dropped in, like a bolt from the blue, a veteran said. Mr Ashim Roy, a young trade unionist from Ahmedabad, put it a bit differently. He hoped that Mr Shabuddin who was now limiting himself to the sphere of Muslims, could perhaps enter the mainstream.

Mr Chandra Shekhar had also raised some questions which had never been thrashed out. Did Mandal issue serve to strengthen casteist forces? The background paper of Mr Fernandes made out a case that the under-castes who benefitted from reservations, would lose millions of jobs when sectors like power, water, and communications were privatised.

The very turnout reflected the weaknesses pointed out by Mr Surendra Mohan in his paper the socialists who once boasted strongholds in tribal centres, had lost touch with them. And they never forged links with other groups that emerged later.

### **CPI-ML Liberation Group Meets in Patna**

93AS0807A *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
25 Mar 93 p 8

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Patna (IPA)—The CPI-ML [Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist] (Liberation) is poised to play a more active role in combating the "right-wing fascist" forces represented politically by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. The party has also called upon left forces to forge an alternative of their own and discontinue dependence on the National Front.

The Liberation group, as this faction of the CPI-ML is popularly known, is possibly the most influential left-of-CPM party in Bihar. The Indian Peoples' Front (IPF) is one of its more active fronts working in the open. It has now decided to actively intervene in Jharkhand politics by converting its Jharkhand Kisan Mazdoor Samiti into a full fledged political party in south Bihar and to 'expose' the games being played by the Shibu Soren group and others involved in the Jharkhand movement.

These decisions were taken at the three-day fourth State level conference of the CPI-ML (Liberation) which concluded its deliberations in the first week of this month with two major slogans for their forthcoming agitational programmes. They are—"Bihar ko Krishnavtar (meaning Laloo factor) Nahi Vampanthi Sarkar Chahiye" (Bihar does not need an incarnation of Krishna but a Left government) and 'Bihar ko Sampradayik Fasibad Ke Kabragah Mein Badal Dalo' (Turn Bihar into the grave of communal fascism). The conference, attended by about 250 delegates, was inaugurated by party general secretary Vinod Mishra who has come in the open after remaining underground for 22 years. It reviewed its political and organisational position in the light of the fifth party Congress resolutions held at Calcutta recently.

Today, of all Naxalite outfits, the CPI-ML (Liberation), is easily identifiable. While the Peoples' War Group (PWG) in parts of Andhra Pradesh again and again comes into national focus through its kidnappings, bandhs and ambushes, the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the CPI-ML (Party Unity) active in Bihar have more or less closed their doors to outside developments and over the years developed a certain vested interest in armed activities. But the CPI-ML (Liberation) is more or less vulnerable to outside influence, started functioning in the open, abjured violence to a great extent and entered the electoral arena through its front organisation, Indian Peoples Front (IPF). Today, it is a force to reckon with not only in Bihar, but in many neighbouring States as well. It also provides ideological inspiration to CPM(U-ML), the main Opposition in the Nepalese Parliament.

Mr Dipankar Bhattacharya, national general secretary of the IPF, appealed to the Left parties to join them to form a Left block or at least evolve ways to walk together as far as possible. It felt that today the crisis facing the nation was primarily an ideological one. Without naming the CPI-M or the CPI, it said that it was the responsibility of Left forces to provide an alternative and not to be dependent on the Congress or the National Front.

It was indicated that the CPI-ML may have electoral adjustment with the Bahujan Samaj Party and the Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh, but so far the non-BJP Opposition-Left alliance for elections is concerned, it feels that before selves. To build a mass movement to counter the BJP offensive, Mr Vinod Mishra also spoke of the need to identify secular forces in the Congress and

the disgruntled and dissident members of the JP movement. In this regard, he was also in favour of highlighting the dedications and ideals of revolutionary leaders and popularising the teachings of Bhakti and Sufi saints.

According to the CPI-ML, the emergence of the Janata Dal has injected more contradictions in the politics of the State, removed the main-line Left (CPI-CPI-M) as the major challenge and diluted the role of the Congress by polarising the electorate. Thus the BJP has been a direct beneficiary of caste politics, especially in the context of the political aftermath of unlocking of Babri Masjid-Ram Mandir by the Rajiv Gandhi government, the subsequent oscillations on the issue and the Bhagalpur riots which pushed the Muslims towards the Janata Dal and the forwards away from the Congress into the lap of the BJP. In its opinion the Congress is 'pariah' to it for the anti-national spirit and its acceptance of the IMF-World Bank conditionalities while the right-wing BJP is outright "fascist." For the time being, it is felt that since the main-line Left is "absorbed" and undistinguishable from the Janata Dal in the State, the only course left for the CPI-ML is either to maintain the issue-based political support to this at anti-BJP front or try to chart an independent course.

The CPI-ML has termed the ruling Janata Dal "a party of kulaks," belonging to the backward castes. However, it has decided to support the Laloo Prasad government on national issues, particularly communalism. But so far as state politics is concerned it will expose the governing style of the present regime where issues of progress, land to landless and jobs to unemployed have figured only in empty slogans. This would also help the CPI-ML-IPF combine to promote its pro-people slogans like "Samajik nyay ke sarkari dhong ka phardaphash" (Government's false social justice exposed) and force the Janata Dal combine including mainline Left to agree to the forceful position of the junior partner.

As a result, the land grab movement is expected to continue. The party also visualises in coming days, there would be more power struggles within the Janata Dal as prosperous backward groups battle it out between themselves for a larger share of the political cake and these dominant backward groups such as the Yadavas, Koeries and Kurmis come into open conflict with the prosperous MBCs [expansion not given] and Dalits and in turn with the severely oppressed sections of the same groups. This, it feels would help the CPI-ML-IPF combine to emerge from political shadows and use the contradictions to its benefit.

In consonance with the left-of-centre revisionist approach of the party as was evolved at Calcutta, after a close review of its working in rural areas in the State, the conference felt that while the anti-feudal policies could not be relegated to the background, the pro-farmer crusade also won't help. Therefore, anti-feudal and pro-farmer approach has to be rationalised in a way to create confidence in the middle and poorer sections and widen the party-base.

It also decided to mobilise different categories of Muslim communities which will work under the Inquilabi Conference, a new outfit of the CPI(ML) under the leadership of Mr Taqui Rahim. Besides giving greater attention to the Pragatisheel Mahila Manch, it decided that the student wing of the party, All India Students Association (AISA) would also be developed and strengthened in each university to counter the rightist forces.

## Rao, Gadgil Remarks Stress Congress (I) Unity

### Rao Addresses Rally

93AS0801A Madras THE HINDU in English  
29 Mar 93 p 9

[Text] Faridabad, March 28—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, while asserting that the Congress had emerged 100 times stronger and that it would never disintegrate, cautioned that anybody who tried to disrupt the unity in the party would be dealt with strongly.

Addressing a massive public rally at the Dussehra Ground here after the conclusion of the All India Congress Committee(I) [AICC] session at Surajkund, Mr. Rao said that if the Congress split today it would mean the disintegration of the country.

Describing the Surajkund session as "very decisive in the history of the Congress," Mr. Rao recalled that the Congress had split 24 years ago at the AICC session held at Faridabad. In fact, some people including himself had initially doubted the wisdom of holding the session at Surajkund. But he decided not to believe in superstition and go ahead with the session because of the love exhibited by the Haryanvis, Mr. Rao said.

Certain groups tried to repeat history by creating an atmosphere for a split but they failed in their designs as partymen unanimously decided to prevent anyone from trying to divide the party. To applause from the audience Mr. Rao said the basic strength of the Congress was that "it had always remained with the people, irrespective of whether it remained in power or not."

Inaugurating the 840 MW Yamunanagar Thermal Power project through a remote control device on the dais, the Prime Minister exhorted the people to forget all contentious issues such as the Ayodhya tangle which was being raised by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] to create hurdles in the way of development. The focus should be on development and increasing production and exports so that the country could earn precious foreign exchange to import items like potash.

Mr. Rao said the Ayodhya issue was now with the Government and reiterated the Centre's resolve to construct a temple and mosque there for which land had already been acquired.

SYL canal dispute: Referring to the Haryana Chief Minister's request that the remaining portion of the

Sutlej Yamuna Link [SYL] Canal in Punjab be completed at the earliest so that Haryana could get more water, the Prime Minister said the Government would solve the water dispute and other issues.

The complications created by the BJP and others would be removed and the Jharkhand issue would be resolved very soon. The Government had already resolved the Assam, Punjab, Bodoland and other complicated issues. Efforts were being made to solve the Kashmir tangle also.

**Defends economic policies:** Mr. Rao, making a strong defence of the economic policies, said it was wrong to assert that the Government had bowed down to the diktat of the World Bank and the international financial institutions. While asserting that India would never compromise on its economic sovereignty and self-reliance, he justified accepting foreign aid. "We cannot pass on the massive burden incurred on implementing developmental projects like the Yamunanagar Power Project (costing Rs. 4,000 crores) to the already impoverished people," he said.

"By accepting loans, we do not become subservient to the donor. We have been regularly paying back these loans and will continue to do so to keep the development going," he added.

**Crop insurance scheme on anvil:** Under the new agriculture policy, there would be core investments in this sector. Also a massive scheme on crop insurance was on the cards to help farmers make up for the losses faced due to floods or rain. He appealed to farmers to contribute to this scheme and derive full advantage.

On the Panchayati Raj Bill, he said it would not only give power to the vast majority living in the rural areas by way of panchayat elections but also make them responsible for development.

Earlier, lashing out at the dissidents, Mr. Bhajan Lal said "eleven persons cannot disrupt the unity of the party. All they can do is to hog some limelight." He urged the Prime Minister to resolve the water dispute with Punjab.

#### Rao Talks With Newsmen

93AS0801B Madras THE HINDU in English  
29 Mar 93 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Surajkund (Haryana), March 28—The Congress(I) president and Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has rejected the charge that the AICC decision, authorising him to nominate two members to the Congress(I) Working Committee [CWC] to fill the vacancies in the elected quota, meant the end of 'election raj' in the organisation.

In an informal talk with correspondents at the media centre here, where he had come to enquire about the facilities. Mr. Rao said it was the will of the AICC [All

India Congress Committee] that he fill up the two vacancies in view of the present situation. "If I refuse the CWC will remain incomplete. Constitution of several other bodies are dependent on the formation of the CWC."

Mr. Rao said last year at the Tirupati session he had insisted on a regular election to the posts of the CWC, rejecting the demand from the members that he nominate the entire body. However, when he realised that the elected component was not balanced due to lack of representation to SCs/STs and women he had no option but to accept the resignation of two of the elected members.

Asked if he was contemplating any disciplinary action against dissidents in the party, Mr. Rao shot back: "Am I going to tell you". He maintained that the Central Disciplinary Action Committee was empowered to consider suo motu or on complaints cases of indiscipline.

'No dissidents': Asked to comment on the attitude of the dissidents Mr. Rao said there was no such thing and wondered why the media categorised some people in the Congress as dissidents. "There is no dissident membership or enrolment," he quipped.

Mr. Rao said he wanted discipline within the party. It did not mean imposition on anyone. "We do not want to impose anything on anyone. But everything is good within the norms of the party discipline."

To a question when he proposed to constitute the Central Parliamentary Board (CPB) of the party, Mr. Rao said it would be done.

On Mr. Arjun Singh's observation that unity and discipline were not enough and the Congress had to fulfil its duty, Mr. Rao said every Congress member had a duty and "duty is not contradictory to discipline or unity."

Mr. Rao said discipline and unity were the two sides of the same coin and nothing should be done which impaired unity. "There is a line within which we can express (differences with the leadership)."

Later, the Union Commerce Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, said that in the past the AICC had authorised the party president to nominate members to the CWC and its decision authorising Mr. Rao to nominate two members to the body was not unprecedented.

In 1978 when Indira Gandhi was elected president of the CWC she was authorised to nominate the rest of the body. Even at Tirupati the AICC had requested Mr. Rao to nominate the CWC though he refused to do so, Mr. Mukherjee said.

The general mood in the AICC was that the dissidents had crossed the 'Lakshman rekha', he said. While dissent in ideas was permissible, it should not be in action.

The leadership did not want to bring the issue of dissidence at the session but "somehow it came up." Only to

ensure serious discussions it was decided to put the economic resolution to debate first, departing from the practice of discussion on political, economic and international resolutions in that order, Mr. Mukherjee said.

### **Congress (I) Spokesman Gadgil**

93AS0801C Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE  
in English 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, March 29—"The nation has no alternative to the Congress-I and the Congress-I has no alternative to Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao," was the message of Surajkund session, according to the All India Congress-I Committee [AICC] spokesman, Mr. V.N. Gadgil.

Mr Gadgil made this interesting observation while giving his assessment on the AICC-I session which concluded on Sunday.

Terming the session as "one of the most successful," he said it also sent the message that Congress-I alone can face the challenges, particularly the challenge posed by communal, fundamentalist forces, both Hindu and Muslim.

The significance of the political resolution was that it has endorsed the Government's policy on Ayodhya and reaffirmed the resolve of the Congress-I to politically fight the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP].

By adopting the economic resolution unanimously, the party has rejected the criticism that the party was deviating from the Nehru-Indira line. The resolution showed that the new economic policy was a creative updating of the Nehru-Indira line, a process which was started by the late Rajiv Gandhi. The resolution on international affairs supported the Government's perception of the post-cold war world situation, the relevance of Non-Aligned Movement [NAM] and the need for democratising the United Nations, he said.

Mr Gadgil recalled the "prediction" of many people and a section of the media that the Congress-I would split at the session and pointed out that nothing of the kind had happened. The Congress-I emerged stronger in the Surajkund session, he said adding that the party would never split.

Asked whether the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy, had resigned from the Central Disciplinary Action Committee of AICC-I, he said he had no information about it.

When his attention was drawn to the observation of the dissident leader, Mr. P. Shiv Shankar, that they proposed to challenge the AICC decision authorising the Congress-I president to nominate members for the two elective posts in the Congress Working Committee, Mr Gadgil said the action would be violative of the party constitution.

Mr Gadgil said the internal matter of a political party cannot be decided by a court of law, he said, and quoted Article 27 (g) of the party constitution which said that "any question or dispute with regard to provisions, contents, interpretations or the procedures laid down therein between members and members and committee or between committees inter se shall be determined by the appropriate authorities indicated in the constitution and the decision of such authority shall be final and binding on all members and committees of the Congress-I and shall not be liable to question by any of them in a court of law."

The Article also says the decision of such an authority shall be final and binding on all members and committees and shall not be liable to question by anyone in a court of law, he said.

Mr Gadgil also recalled the judgment of Justice Vaidya of Bombay High Court holding that internal matters of 'political parties cannot be decided by courts of law.'

He further stated that if members went to court, it constituted an act of indiscipline.

When a reporter asked which was the appropriate authority in this particular case, Mr Gadgil said the CWC is the appropriate authority.

### **Court Reverses Congress (I) MP's Election**

93AS0797A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE  
in English 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Jabalpur, April 2 (PTI)—In a significant and far-reaching verdict, the Madhya Pradesh High Court on Friday quashed the December 15 Presidential proclamation dismissing the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]-Innment headed by Mr Sunderlal Patwa and dissolving the State Assembly soon after the Ayodhya incident on December 6 last.

The bench, however, granted two weeks for staying the operation of orders to bring appropriate interim orders from the Supreme Court.

The specially constituted full bench comprising the Chief Justice, Mr S K Jha, Mr Justice K M Agarwal and Mr Justice D M Dharmadhikari, in a two-to-one majority judgment allowed a bunch of writ petitions filed by Mr Patwa and three others and quashed the impugned Presidential proclamation.

The news about the judgment was conveyed to the Governor, Mr Kunwar Mahmud Ali Khan, while he was holding a meeting with his advisers and senior government officials at Raj Bhavan.

The Chief Justice, Mr Jha, and Mr Justice Dharmadhikari, in their separate but concurring judgment, the first of its kind in the history of the judiciary, held that the proclamation was "invalid" and beyond the scope of

Article 356 of the Constitution. It is therefore not necessary, the court said, to decide the question of justification of dissolving the State Assembly.

But, in his dissenting judgment, Mr Justice Agarwal said it was abundantly clear that the action under Article 356 could not be said to be vitiated on the ground that the power was exercised only in relation to the four States under BJP rule and not in relation to States under Congress rule.

The argument about desirability or validity of the dissolution of the Assembly by the proclamation also deserved to be rejected as soon as the proclamation under Article 356 was held to be valid because that power was inherent in it, he said.

Mr Patwa and others had challenged the Presidential proclamation as a "colourable exercise" of the Central Government and an act of political vendetta against the Opposition party. They contended that it was gross misuse of powers exercised by the Government to take revenge against the Opposition parties.

The entire proclamation, the bench said, was based on the grounds not material and unwarranted for invoking the extraordinary power of the President under Article 356 of the Constitution. The proclamation and along with it the action of dissolving the Assembly should fall with it, it said.

"As a result of the decision and the conclusion drawn, the petitions succeed and are hereby 'allowed, and the Presidential proclamation dated December 15 last is quashed," the court order said.

All consequential effects thereon shall follow. In the circumstances no orders as to costs are made by the court, the order added.

The bench held that the Union of India has not been able to support material produced before the court on the imposition of the President's rule only in the States ruled by the BJP.

The judges said that they were informed that the State Government in Himachal Pradesh, where also the BJP ruled, was dismissed. There were no disturbances whatsoever of the types described to have taken place in Madhya Pradesh and hence the imposition of President's rule in that State was "wholly uncalled for," the court added.

The bench held that mere worsening of law and order situation in a State due to sudden outbreak of violence does not call for the extreme step of imposition of President's rule unless (it is proved) to the satisfaction of the President that the law and order situation in a State, due to sudden disturbance, had made or (was) likely to make the functioning of the government impossible in the State.

"There was no occasion to raise any inference on failure of the constitutional machinery under Article 356 of the

Constitution because there were no central directives which were disobeyed or disrespected by the State in the reports of the State Governor," the court said. "There is no specification of alleged deeds or misdeeds of the State Government in meeting the law and order situation of the State."

The two weeks' staying of the operation of the order was granted by the court on a oral request by Mr K D S Tulsi, Additional Solicitor General of India, who prayed for a "certificate of fitness to appeal to the Supreme Court" against the quashing of the Presidential proclamation.

The bench said it is a "fit case" in which a certificate of fitness be granted to appeal to the Supreme Court under Article 133 (i) of the Constitution as the cases involved substantial questions of law of general importance and in view that questions need to be decided by the Supreme Court.

Though Mr Tulsi made an oral prayer for a week to stay the operation of the High Court order, the full bench granted two weeks to get the necessary interim orders.

Reacting to the judgment, the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Sunderlal Patwa, said it proved that the invocation of extraordinary powers of Article 356 of the Constitution was done "to take political revenge."

In a statement here, Mr Patwa said the verdict also shows that the duly elected Government was "wrongly dismissed."

The Madhya Pradesh unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party on Friday hailed the State High Court's verdict quashing the dismissal of the Sunderlal Patwa Government and described it as a "victory of justice."

The news of the judgment spread like wildfire in the city. BJP supporters gathered at the party's headquarters here, welcoming the verdict.

The State BJP president, Mr Lakhiram Agarwal, said the verdict testifies that the Union Government had dismissed an elected government by flouting all constitutional provisions.

#### AG to file foolproof plea

New Delhi, April 2 (UNI)—The Attorney-General has been asked to finalise a 'foolproof' appeal in the Supreme Court against the Madhya Pradesh High Court judgment quashing the dismissal of the erstwhile BJP government in the State, highly placed sources said on Friday.

Legal experts have started examining the implications of the judgment. The appeal is likely to be filed by April 6. The Law Ministry has asked for all relevant documents relating to the judgment.

Legal experts are of the view that this is the first time that Presidential proclamation under Article 356 has come for judicial scrutiny. They also say that the judgment

tantamounts to interference with a Presidential proclamation. "So far, the approach has been that there can be no judicial scrutiny of the subjective satisfaction of the President," they said.

#### **Internal Security Minister on Bombay, Kashmir**

93AS0799A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
31 Mar 93 p 1

[Text] Srinagar, March 30—The Internal Security Minister, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, today blamed Pakistan for the series of bomb explosions in Bombay and said the culprits responsible for the blasts were trained in that country.

Addressing a public meeting at Humhama on the outskirts of Srinagar, Mr. Pilot urged Pakistani leaders to desist from engineering trouble in India and said, "We want peace and brotherhood with all our neighbours, including Pakistan."

Stating that India and Pakistan were members of the same family, Mr. Pilot said, "If it is not possible for Pakistan to help uplift the standard of people here, they should not have evil designs against the country."

He said the Government was prepared to talk to Pakistan to improve bilateral relations.

Mr. Pilot asserted that the Centre wanted to rebuild Kashmir as "the paradise on earth" and invited the "misguided youth" who were taking up arms, for talks across the table to settle their "grievances and problems."

"Violence is no answer to the problems of the people and it only compounds their troubles," the Minister said and urged the youth to shun arms and work for peace and prosperity.

Kashmir problem: Mr. Pilot, who arrived here from Delhi on a day's visit, said the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao could also be asked to intervene in the Kashmir talks.

"Only by sitting across the table we can find a solution to this problem," Mr. Pilot said. "But at the same time we will be very tough to militants who do not want peace here."

Later addressing a public meeting at Humhama on the outskirts of the Srinagar city in Badgam district this afternoon, Mr. Pilot said militants not involved in any serious crime would be released soon.—UNI

#### **Correspondent Writes on Reasons for Emergency**

93AS0804A Hyderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE*  
in English 1 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 1—A combination of menacing developments, climaxed by the Bombay High Court's indictment of Mr Sharad Pawar, receipt of authenticated intelligence signals of the imminence of renewed bomb attacks on selected urban and sensitive installations and

a massive military build-up by Pakistan across the northern borders provoked the resort to the proclamation of emergency, according to official sources here.

Unlike in 1975, when the decision to declare emergency was unilaterally taken by Indira Gandhi without prior consultation with her Cabinet, this time the Union Cabinet was convened in an emergency session in the early hours of Thursday to endorse Mr Narasimha Rao's decision. The Cabinet ministers were pledged to secrecy before the Prime Minister disclosed the compelling reasons which left the government with no alternative other than invoking the constitutional provision empowering the declaration of national emergency.

Again, unlike in 1975, when the proclamation was meekly given—the presidential imprimatur was given by Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed while he was lounging in his bath tub—this time the proposal encountered stiff resistance from Rashtrapati Bhavan. The President, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, initially bluntly refused to sign the document but yielded ground most reluctantly after top secret intelligence data fed directly to the Prime Minister by the Intelligence Bureau and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) was shown to him. The information was sufficiently alarming for the President to overcome his opposition. On his advice, the three service chiefs were immediately summoned to Rashtrapati Bhavan and, acting in his capacity as the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, Dr Sharma himself directed them to put the armed forces on a state of maximum alert.

A number of developments in quick succession shook the Prime Minister and brought home to him the enormous danger the country was facing from many sources at the same time. The first reports contained a warning that the three metropolitan cities of Delhi, Madras and Calcutta and two State capitals, Hyderabad and Bangalore, had been targetted by terrorists who had made all preparations incidental to stage a repetition of the March 12 Bombay blasts. While some installations in these cities had been swept by the security authorities for locating RDX-mixed explosives secreted in unsuspected nooks and corners and considerable quantities of bombs and other inflammatory devices recovered in the last two days, the security brass became apprehensive that there were many more areas of potential danger which could not be brought under comprehensive surveillance owing to lack of time.

The second report was even more alarming because it spoke of a sudden massing of Pakistani troops across the Line of Actual Control in Jammu and Kashmir from the morning of Tuesday. Even before the Army commanders on the Indian side of the border could put forces under them in counter-attack positions, reports began pouring in of similar build-ups across the border in Punjab and Rajasthan. These reports were confirmed by the RAW, whose field operatives saw for themselves hectic troop movements, convoys of armoured vehicles and aerial

reconnaissance flights on the Pakistan side of the border, all indicative of preparations for a full-fledged armed attack on India.

Although the domestic political situation has turned more favourable for the Prime Minister after his resounding victory in Surajkund over the dissidents acting under the inspiration of Mr Arjun Singh, the government has been taking note of increased belligerence on the part of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] and the overground operatives of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP]. The Prime Minister's unequivocal declaration that the BJP-VHP combine would never be allowed to build a temple in Ayodhya on their own but it would be the trust to be appointed by the government which would build a people's mandir, has provoked these organisations to plan a repetition of the December 6 strategy by marching to Ayodhya to start work on the temple. The members of the saffron brigade were reported to have held numerous clandestine strategy sessions. One such meeting held on Tuesday is reported to have decided to organise spontaneous demonstrations in all State capitals and take out a massive procession in the Capital on Ramnavami, falling on April 1. It was felt by the government that it would be impossible to control these mass upsurges in the absence of special powers to shoot at sight which only a state of emergency could confer on the security forces.

Even while the Prime Minister was debating the pros and cons of subjecting the nation to another spell of emergency, the news of the judgment of the Bombay High Court in the Sharad Pawar case appears to have convinced him that all factors inimical to the government's stability were converging simultaneously, and the totality of their manifestation would be such as to paralyse the civil administration throughout the length and breadth of India.

However unpalatable, there was no choice available to Mr Narasimha Rao. He decided to follow in the footsteps of Indira Gandhi, who too had abrogated fundamental rights when pushed to the corner.

### **Dismissal of Madhya Pradesh Government Quashed**

93AS0796A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE  
in English 3 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] Aurangabad, March 30 (UNI)—In a historic judgment, the Aurangabad bench of the Bombay High Court on Tuesday declared Mr Balasaheb Vikhe-Patil, a dissident Congress-I leader, elected to the Lok Sabha from Ahmednagar (South) constituency and named the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr Sharad Pawar, as "guilty person," in the character assassination of Mr Patil.

The court declared the election of the official Congress (I) candidate, Mr Yeshwantrao Gadak, as null and void from the constituency.

This is for the first time that a defeated candidate has been declared elected.

Mr Justice A. Halbe, while delivering his judgment on the election petition, filed by Mr Patil in 1991, observed that Mr Gadak had in his campaign speeches made certain allegations against Mr Patil, which sought to tarnish his character and moral conduct.

Mr Patil in his petition had challenged Mr Gadak's election on the ground that he had flouted norms of the Election Commission during his campaigning.

Mr Sharad Pawar, who was one of the respondents, was on November 4 last year summoned to be present in the court, to show cause as to why he should not be named in an order passed by the court, on the election petition, filed under Section 123 (4) by Mr Vikhe Patil.

The plea was made on the ground that Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar had made public speeches, tarnishing the character and moral conduct of the petitioner, which had adversely affected the election prospects of Mr Vikhe-Patil from Ahmednagar (south).

In his petition, Mr Patil had alleged that throughout the election campaign, Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar had joined hands against him. At two public meetings, on May 3 and 11, 1991, Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar had made defamatory statements about him, he pointed out.

Details of the speeches were incorporated in the petition, which were verified by seven witnesses and newspaper reporters.

Mr Justice Halbe also observed that Mr Patil was defeated by a narrow margin of 11,000 votes, and that in his earlier five elections had obtained more than one lakh votes over Mr Gadak.

Mr Gadak was an official candidate of the Congress (I) while Mr Vikhe-Patil had contested as a dissident;

The petitioner contended that at the election meetings held at Newasa and Shrigonda, Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar alleged that Mr Vikhe-Patil planned to distribute Rs 3 crore among voters in villages and Rs 50 lakh were given to the Janata Dal candidate and former High Court Justice B G Kolse-Patil to withdraw in favour of him (Mr Vikhe-Patil) from the election. Mr Kolse-Patil had withdrawn and contested the election from Beed Lok Sabha constituency.

Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar had also alleged that Mr Vikhe-Patil had promised to pay Rs 50,000 and Rs 20,000 to taluka and village-level workers respectively.

Justice Halbe stated that all these allegations made by Mr Gadak and Mr Pawar against Mr Vikhe-Patil were false and that their efforts were only to win the election and spoil the prospects of Mr Vikhe-Patil.

Bedlam broke out in both Houses of the State legislature after the entire Opposition demanded the resignation of



Mr Pawar following the strictures even as the Deputy Speaker, Mr Suryabhan Wahadane, pushed through the proceedings of the House.

Mr Pawar said he will move the Supreme Court challenging the strictures passed against him by the Aurangabad Bench of Bombay High Court. He said he had already spoken to the Prime Minister and Congress-I president, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, who told him that there was no cause to worry.

### Muslims Express Concern Over Policy on Ayodhya

#### Personal Law Board

93AS0827A *Madras THE HINDU in English*  
6 Apr 93 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 5—A delegation of the All-India Muslim Personal Law Board, which met the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, this morning for nearly 45 minutes, has categorically and with a finality rejected the limited Presidential reference of the Ayodhya dispute to the Supreme Court under Article 143.

It has instead appealed to Mr. Rao to reconsider the Government's policies on the Ayodhya issue and squarely deal with the menace of Hindu chauvinism which is striking at the very roots of our democratic-secular policy.

The delegation, led by the president of the Board, Maulana Abdul Hasan Ali Nadvi, conveyed to the Prime Minister, through a memorandum, the decision of the Board taken on Sunday. Mr. Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State for Internal Security, and Mr. Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, were present.

The Board felt that only a just, equitable and firm stand by the Government could restore democracy, secularism and rule of law which had been reduced to meaningless jargons on December 6 last when the 450-year-old Babri mosque was razed to the ground.

It was on that dark day that 'the Constitution lost its prestige, the law and the judiciary were dishonoured, the Muslims and all justice-loving anti-fascist citizens were betrayed and the people lost faith in the executive and the administration', the strongly-worded memorandum said.

The delegation pointed out that the reference made to the Supreme Court in fact 'goes far beyond and is wider than the false contention of the Sangh Parivar which alleges that a Rama temple was demolished to construct Babri Masjid'. It was emphasised that the reference was neither restricted to the existence of a Rama temple nor does it confine itself to the immediate past before the construction of the Babri monument in 1528 A.D.

'Denial of justice': The Board clearly told the Prime Minister that either the cases in the Allahabad High Court should be expedited or they should be consolidated for a final verdict from the Supreme Court. The bid to deny the Muslims their title to the disputed spot was denial of justice and contrary to the law of the land.

Without mincing words, the memorandum pointed out that the reference as it stood now was 'a ploy to lend credence to the allegations of the RSS-VHP-BJP [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Bharatiya Janata Party] combine which they are unable to substantiate'.

The stand taken by the Board is hard and uncompromising. It has asked the Government to abandon all efforts to construct a mosque at an alternate site and has given a virtual warning that such a mosque would not be acceptable to any Muslim. It has justified its stand by pointing out that its demands are firmly rooted in law. All that the Muslims were demanding was a speedy verdict in the cases related to the Ayodhya dispute that had been pending for over 40 years.

The Board reiterated that a mosque does not cease to be one because of an illegal installation of an idol in it or because no namaz has been said in it for some time.

The delegation which included Mr. Sulaiman Sait (IUML) and Maulana Islam Qasmi (of the Milli Council) also brought up the question of indiscriminate arrests under TADA [Terrorism and Disruptive Activities Act]. Mr. Pilot reportedly said that he would look into this.

Mr. Sait later told correspondents that the meeting had neither been disappointing nor encouraging. The Prime Minister listened to them patiently and said he would see what could be done.

#### Muslim Intelligentsia

93AS0827B *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 10 Apr 93 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, April 9—The Muslim intelligentsia meet has demanded that the government should try to evolve a consensus on the Babri Masjid-Ram janambhoomi issue by eliciting opinion from wider sections of both Hindus and Muslims, instead of negotiating only with religious leaders.

The meet, a representative body of Muslim academicians, professionals and journalists launched after the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, said in a statement today that the board's decision "represents the opinion of a section of ulema and discredited Muslim politicians."

The Muslim personal law board had submitted a memorandum on April 5 to the Prime Minister demanding, among other things, that a mosque should be constructed



at the site of the demolished Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. The board had also announced that it would launch a movement to achieve its demands.

Questioning the timing and manner of the board's initiative, convenors of the meet said "it is unfortunate that the board has once again chosen to raise the Babri Masjid-Ram janambhoomi issue at a time when the communal temperature in the country was on the decline.

Given the fact that the RSS-VHP-BJP [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Bharatiya Janata Party] combine, after having successfully communalised the issue for political gains, has also been sticking to its hardline position, the board's stand has made an amicable solution even more difficult, the statement said.

It regretted that the board did not initiate any dialogue within the community to take a mandate before going to the government with its memorandum. "It was necessary because a vast majority of both Muslim intellectuals and ordinary members of the community do not see the Babri Masjid-Ram janambhoomi issue as a mere religious dispute. For them, the broader issue of Hindu-Muslim amity and peaceful co-existence is equally important.

The statement further said that provisions of the Shariat cannot be applied in isolation, particularly when "we know that peace and harmony enjoy a prime position in Islam."

The board's decision appears to be "an attempt to reinstate self-appointed Muslim leaders whose approach to resolving the vexed problem had been thoroughly exposed with the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6. That was the consensus reached at the Muslim intelligentsia meet that we organised on January 24 in Delhi.

The meet also criticised the government for ignoring "the secular opinion prevailing in both the communities and has been negotiating only with religious leaders."

#### **Tripura Victory Reinstates CPI-M Position**

93AS0831 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
7 Apr 93 p 11

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 6—The clean sweep by the Left Front in Tripura has conclusively knocked out the moral authority of the outgoing Congress-TUJS government, and reinstated the position of the CPM-led alliance as the 'natural party of government' in the ethnically-polarised border state.

For one, the Left Front had been dislodged from power after a decade in highly volatile circumstances that preceded the last assembly elections in February 1988.

Even though the Congress and the TUJS (Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti) had cobbled together a majority, the alliance bumbled along throughout the five-year term. The congenial in-fighting within the state Congress was just one pointer to the political turbulence that marked the term.

The 1988 elections were marked by large-scale incidents of electoral malpractices allegedly at the behest of the Congress. The deployment of the army for election duty had also led to accusations of its involvement to further the Congress prospects. Over 100 people were killed during the build-up to the elections even as the entire state was declared a 'disturbed area'.

A major factor during the last elections was the 'insurgency' led by Mr Bejoy Hrangkhawl, leader of the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV). But what was remarkable about the 'insurgency' was that it was directed almost entirely against the Left Front government, and had virtually nothing against the Indian state, unlike other insurgencies in the north-east. In the event, this brand of 'insurgency' too came to be viewed as part of the Congress machinations to wrest Tripura from the Left Front, by any which way it could.

The wide margin of Left Front victory in the April 3 elections is significant: even during the last elections, it had polled three per cent more votes than the Congress-TUJS alliance. The Congress debacle now also amounts to a major setback to the 'standing' of Mr Santosh Mohan Dev, Union minister, who was credited with masterminding the Congress 'victory' in 1988, but has now increasingly got bogged down by in-fighting within the state Congress.

But more than anything else, the Left Front victory reinforces the CPM's traditional base in the tribal areas, where the communist movement in the state had its beginnings (the CPM stalwards, Mr Nripen Chakravarty and Mr. Dasarath Dev, led the tribals movement in the late forties against the maharaja on the question of forced labour). Since then, the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has consistently polled over 50 per cent votes in the tribal constituencies.

It was only during the Marxist rule that the pathetically out-numbered tribals of the state had begun to feel that they were not strangers in their own homeland. One of the first tasks of Mr Nripen Chakravarty when he took over as chief minister in 1978 was the creation of an autonomous district council for the tribals. From a tribal-majority area in 1947, Tripura has been converted into a tribal-minority state, thanks to the refugee settlers from the former East Bengal, who now constitute two-thirds of the population.

This time, the number of seats reserved for tribals has been increased from 17 to 20 in accordance with the TNV accord of September 1988. As the election results indicate, the CPM not only continues to retain its base among tribals despite the influence of the TUJS as well as the TNV (now a political party), but has, indeed,

increased its influence. In the 60-member state assembly, it is clear that the party that has a major say in the 20 reserved tribal constituencies enjoys a head start.

Of particular satisfaction to the CPM's party managers is the fact that the election results have taught a lesson to the dissidents, who had formed the Progressive Democratic Front and, indeed, set up five candidates, including one against Mr Nripen Chakravarty. The results have also belied the fond hopes of the BJP to gain a foothold in a state inhabited largely by Bengali Hindus. If anything, the results amount to a reiteration of the virtual evolution of a two-party system in the state.

As evident during the tenure of the last Left Front government (1983-88), there is once again a Congress government at the Centre. However, given the compulsions of the P.V. Narasimha Rao government in Parliament, the decibel level of acrimony between the Centre and the state government now is expected to be much lower than what was evident when the Rajiv Gandhi government was in power at the Centre.

As a former chief secretary of Tripura said, "During the tenure of the last Left Front government, the Congress government used the Union home ministry more to destabilise the Marxists than to help them contain the TNV insurgency. This time, however, things are likely to be different given the need of the Rao government to rely on the support of left parties in Parliament.

#### Papers Report BJP National Executive Meeting

##### Economic Resolution Discussed

93AS0818A Madras THE HINDU in English  
11 Apr 93 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Calcutta, April 10—A full-scale attack on the Government's economic policies was the highlight of the first day of the three-day national executive committee meeting of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] which opened here today. It was more than evident that the party is keen to change its image of a one-point Ram temple party and talk about bread and butter issues.

In fact, briefing correspondents here on the five-page economic resolution being adopted, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, veteran party leader, promised a separate resolution on agriculture tomorrow and said: "We do not want to win elections only on the basis of the Ram temple issue. Let the temple be built early so that it does not become an election issue. Perhaps there is a growing realisation in the party that with the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the goose that laid the golden eggs in the form of saffron votes has been killed.

Mr. Vajpayee today said that the country must evolve its own economic model that could be a model for all Third World countries. Both the capitalist and the communist economic growth models have failed and there was a

need for evolving a model that had freedom, encouragement of private initiative and social justice as key factors. He recommended for emulation the China model, but with a rider, lamenting the fact that China did not have a democratic system.

No surprises: There were no surprises in the economic resolution that was discussed by the 133-member strong national executive committee of the party today. It criticised the manner in which the Narasimha Rao Government is going ahead with its liberalisation policy without adequate protection of the industry and said that not enough attention was being paid to agriculture and population control; that foreign loans should not be allowed to dictate domestic economic policies; that the inflation rate continued to go up, and that full convertibility was not a "master stroke that will overnight improve the climate for exports" but "devaluation by another name."

The resolution also predicts a 40 per cent hike in the price of petroleum products, with international crude oil prices having gone up already by \$1.50 per barrel over the base of \$18.50 on which the current oil budget is based. The resolution defended the BJP's 'shadow Budget' suggestion that for the moment the convertibility ratio should have been fixed at 80:20 rather than 100 per cent.

The party has clearly indicated that it would strongly oppose any move by the Government to impose a dearness allowance freeze if prices continue to rise.

Politically, the resolution seeks to challenge the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] by trying to emphasise that the BJP alone among the major national political parties is serious about opposing the Centre's economic policies. Mr. Vajpayee today accused the CPI(M) of walking out in Parliament rather than voting against the Government, notwithstanding the fact that the BJP itself has been walking out and hardly showing any seriousness in wanting to bring down the Government during the Budget session that began in February.

In response to a query from a correspondent, Mr. Vajpayee said that there was no question of the BJP joining hands with the CPI(M) on economic issues. "We can both vote against the government and bring it down but they (the CPI-M) do not press the division bell, instead they stage a walkout," he quipped.

'Ideology does not count': Mr. Vajpayee also indicated that in any forthcoming poll the BJP would not mind entering into an electoral seat adjustment understanding with any regional party if it was of mutual benefit. This, he said, could be done quite separate from political ideology. "Ideology does not come in at all in electoral adjustments," he said when questioned on the possibility of an alliance with AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]. Earlier, party leaders had been talking about "issue-based support" but today Mr. Vajpayee talked frankly only about electoral benefits.

The three-day executive committee meeting was earlier addressed by Prof. Murli Manohar Joshi, party president. In his opening remarks he dwelt on the implications of the Madhya Pradesh High Court verdict quashing the Presidential proclamation dissolving the State Assembly and dismissing the State Government. He called for an all-party meeting to discuss this important issue having a bearing on Centre-State relations.

In the next two days the executive committee is expected to draw up a strategy to use the verdict to focus on the party's demand for restoration of its governments. At the same time whatever plans are finalised, they will be election oriented as at least in three of the four States the party expects elections before the year is out.

CPI(M) 'misrule': There were no surprises in Prof. Joshi's opening remarks. They constituted a two-pronged attack on the misrule by the Congress(I) at the Centre and the misrule of the CPI(M) in West Bengal. The focus on West Bengal is expected to develop over the next two days as the party takes up the sensitive issue of influx from Bangladesh and the alleged "terrorism" let loose on the people as a result of "the nexus between the top rung of the CPI(M) leaders and the criminals," as Prof. Joshi put it.

#### Resolution on Infiltration

93AS0818B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 12 Apr 93 pp 1, 15

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Calcutta, April 11—The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] today used its most well-known Muslim leader, Mr Sikandar Bakht, to expound the issue of illegal migration from Bangladesh, and warned that if the government did not go ahead with identifying and deporting the immigrant Muslims, the party would undertake the task.

On the second day of the three-day meeting of the party's national executive here, a lengthy resolution on infiltration from Bangladesh was adopted. A similar resolution was adopted at the Bhopal meeting of the national executive, but the venue of the current meeting, Calcutta added, significance to the resolution. West Bengal is one of the states most affected by infiltration from across the borders.

It was clear that the BJP would take up the issue and exploit it to the full after the Ayodhya imbroglio was sorted out. The senior party leader, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, made it as much clear, when he said the party would like the Ram temple to cease to be an issue during the next elections. Mr Bakht said Bangladesh had no justification in transferring its poverty to India.

The issue of infiltration is a highly emotive one, particularly in the east and north-east. Indeed, the resolution

adopted today read almost similar to the endless memoranda submitted to the Centre by the All Assam Students Union [AASU], at the height of the six-year movement against foreign nationals.

Mr Bakht significantly recalled the Nellie carnage of 1983, while the resolution said the danger of the traumatic experience of Assam recurring was in sight because of the "unabated torrential ingress of the Bangladesh aliens in that state. According to him, the infiltration had assumed "impossible proportions."

He recalled that in September last, a meeting of chief ministers had been called by the Union home minister, Mr S.B. Chavan, but the decisions taken at the meeting were allegedly not implemented. He claimed that the Congress government was not taking the issue seriously, while the resolution demanded that the government issue a white paper on all aspects of the phenomenon.

"The BJP has been consistently drawing the attention of the people and of the government to the changing contours of this threat to our secular society, economy and national security. But the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] government of West Bengal, the Janata Dal government of Bihar and the Congress government at the Centre and in other states for their own reasons of vote-bank politics have tried to underplay the issue and suppress facts. They have completely ignored this very vital problem of high explosive potential," the resolution stated.

The resolution claimed that it was due to the efforts of the Delhi unit of the BJP that the names of 1.5 lakh Bangladesh nationals had recently been deleted from the voters list of 13 assembly constituencies. The West Bengal chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, was accused in the resolution of trying to belittle the seriousness of the problem and for projecting it as an exaggeration by the BJP.

The national executive claimed to have knowledge of over two lakh Bangladesh nationals entering West Bengal every year. The resolution said the infiltrators had formed an organization in the state called 'Bangladesh Mohajir Sangh' which often held conferences to voice its demands and pressurise the administration.

"We do not want any harassment of genuine citizens of the country, but we cannot tolerate the inundation of our frontiers by illegal immigrants which could even promote secession... It has to be kept in view that the helpless Hindu refugees are also deprived of their properties and adequate agreement with Bangladesh is essential for their compensation and rehabilitation. The people of our country are restive and watchful about this looming danger. The BJP will continue to strive to mobilise all sections of our people to meet this threat to national security and safeguard our economy, society and democratic polity," the resolution said.

The party demanded 12 steps to tackle the infiltration:—  
1) Adequate fencing of the long and porous border,

taking into account the existing lacunae, and a coordinated plan for effective border patrolling consultation with concerned states and financed by the Union government, to stop further infiltration.

2) A phased plan for the effective and expeditious identification, disenfranchisement and deportation of illegal immigrants to be pursued consistently.

3) Conferment of full and untrammelled authority and modern scientific equipment for the detection, identification, prevention and deportation of infiltrators.

4) Preparation and maintenance of the National Register of Citizens.

5) Issuance of citizenship identity cards starting from the border states.

6) Purposive amendment of relevant laws and regulations in this regard in the light of legal and administrative experience.

7) Having failed in its purpose, the illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act 1983 applicable in Assam be scrapped forthwith.

8) Any defiance of the CEC's directives and orders about rectification of electoral rolls should invite deterrent punishment against erring officials.

9) The government should take diplomatic initiative to educate and create world opinion regarding the realities of the infiltration and highlight the violation of human rights in Bangladesh.

10) The external affairs ministry, ministry of home affairs and the I & B ministry must act in tandem to implement policies and programmes in this regard.

11) The purchase of land and property by the infiltrators in any part of the country either benami or in any guise, should be null and void and legal provisions to this effect be made.

12) Any person, body or authority employing an infiltrator should be liable to penal action.

#### 12 Apr Proceedings, Advani Speaks

93AS0818C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 13 Apr 93 pp 1, 15

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar]

[Text] Calcutta, April 12—The senior BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr L.K. Advani, today came down heavily on the P.V. Narasimha Rao government for its alleged bankruptcy of policy in dealing with the Kashmir issue and the recent blasts, and claimed the security of the country had been "gravely imperilled" under this government.

Stating that events in Kashmir in the last three days were disturbing, he told newsmen that the reported move of

the Union minister of state for home, Mr Rajesh Pilot, to restore the pre-1953 position in Kashmir would be strongly resisted by the BJP. If need be, the party would launch a "massive nationwide movement" against the move, he said.

Adopting an aggressive posture, Mr Advani said if anybody thought that the Rajesh Pilots and Farooq Abdullahs would be allowed to restore the pre-1953 situation in Kashmir, he was living in a "fool's paradise." The BJP, he said, regarded it as its solemn duty not to allow the turning of the clock back. In this context, he recalled the role of Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in the early fifties.

At a time when disturbing events were taking place in Kashmir, Mr Advani said the mandate given to the new governor was strange. The mandate, according to him, was to move towards granting general amnesty to detained militants, opening negotiations with them, and holding assembly elections within six months. He said such an approach reflected "total bankruptcy" of policy on the part of the Congress government.

"If one considers the Kashmir situation along with the Bombay blasts, it is clear that the government is bankrupt in tackling the root cause. Both are manifestations of war by other means. From the Pakistan point of view it is an inexpensive war with minimum risk. If our response is going to be apologetic, defensive, and talk of dialogue and granting amnesty to militants, it only shows that the security of the country is gravely imperilled with this government in power," Mr Advani said.

According to him, when the BJP demanded mid-term elections, it was not based on its perception that it were in an advantageous position, but because the Rao government was allegedly corrupt and incapable of understanding the gravity of problems like Kashmir and infiltration from Bangladesh. Anyone condemning the BJP for raising the infiltration issue reflected his incapacity to think in the national interest, he claimed.

On the infiltration issue, he said the basic problem was not the Bangladesh government, but the Indian government and Indian political parties. Indeed, Mr Advani indirectly complimented the Bangladesh government for deporting the two lakh Rohingya Muslims that had fled to the country from Myanmar. There were 15 million Bangladesh nationals spread over India, he claimed.

The leader of the opposition in the Lok Sabha accused the government of "criminal tardiness" in requesting the repatriation of the Memon family from Pakistan. He said he had little hopes of the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif, acceding to Mr Narasimha Rao's request during the recent SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit in Dhaka to repatriate the Memons.

"Apart from the role of Pakistan in the recent blasts, a major contributing factor has been the criminalisation of politics promoted in the last two decades. This has given

rise to the Dawood Ibrahims, the Memons, the Rashid Khans. Had it not been for the patronage extended to them by political parties, they could not have acquired the frightening capacity to harm the country," Mr Advani remarked.

The Jammu and Kashmir unit of the BJP submitted a detailed note on the situation in the state while the national executive adopted a resolution on Kashmir. The resolution demanded six steps related to the troubled state:

1) The repeal of Article 370; 2) The formulation of an economic package to ensure economic development of the state, the economic assimilation and integration of the Kashmiris with the rest of the country; 3) The setting up of regional councils for Ladakh and Jammu; 4) A stop to all talk about restoration of pre-1953 status for Kashmir; 5) The stepping up of security in the Doda region; and 6) A visit by a parliamentary committee to the Doda region to study the situation.

The national council of the BJP will meet at Bangalore from June 18 to 20, reports UNI.

It will be preceded by a two-day national executive meeting which will be held on June 16 and 17.

The new party president will take over at the Bangalore plenary session of the party.

#### Advani Meets Press

93AS0818D Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 13 Apr 93 p 15

[Text] Calcutta, April 12—For the third time in as many days, senior BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders today taunted the Left parties for allegedly ensuring the survival of the P.V. Narasimha Rao government, and reiterated the party's offer to them to vote against the crucial finance bill along with the BJP.

Today's offer was made by the leader of the opposition in the Lok Sabha, Mr L.K. Advani. It was first made on the opening day of the three-day meeting of the party's national executive by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. Yesterday, the BJP secretary, Mr J.P. Mathur, repeated the offer.

Speaking to newsmen, Mr Advani said even though the Rao government did not have a majority in the Lok Sabha, its biggest sustaining force had been the eagerness of non-BJP opposition parties not to have early general elections. Singling out the Left parties, he said if they were honestly against the economic policies of the government, they should join the BJP in opposing the finance bill and bringing down the government.

"I am aware that the non-BJP parties, particularly the Left parties, have made up their mind to ensure the continuance of this government in order to extract benefits in states like Tripura and West Bengal. There is

an undeclared nexus, an unwritten arrangement between them that enables the Rao government to survive," Mr Advani stated.

When parliament resumes its session on April 19, he said the BJP would try to pin down the government and extract information on the blasts in Bombay and Calcutta. He also made it clear that the BJP would vote against the Union budget as it would demonstrate which party was genuinely opposed to the economic policies of the government.

During the next general elections, he said two issues would dominate: Security of the country and that of the common citizen, and corruption. According to him, corruption in administration had its roots in corruption among politicians at the top, and unless this was contained at the highest level, the phenomenon would continue to dog the system.

"Since the 1952 general elections, most parties have tried to highlight corruption. But this became a major issue only during the 1989 elections due to the Bofors scandal. But now the situation is even worse than Bofors. A series of scandals surround the kith and kin of Mr Narasimha Rao. It is bound to be a major issue whenever general elections are held," he said.

While Mr Vajpayee said on Saturday that the party would like Ayodhya not to remain an issue during the next elections, Mr Advani today said Ayodhya had already become a major issue and none could brush it away. The Ayodhya movement, he claimed, reflected the BJP's bid to define the true content of Indian Nationalism, and the temple issue was merely a symbol.

He noted that the issue had been referred to the supreme court for an opinion under Article 143 while a bill too had been moved in Parliament. Even though the related issues were in a state of flux, the temple issue remained very much alive, he said.

#### Joshi on Political Resolution

93AS0818E Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
14 Apr 93 p 9

[Text] Calcutta, April 13—Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, president of Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] said here today that a 'foolproof arrangement' should be evolved to prevent misuse of Article 356 by the Centre for dismissing elected State Governments.

Briefing presspersons on the political resolution passed by the party's national executive in the concluding session of its three-day meeting yesterday, Dr. Joshi said the judgment of the Jabalpur Bench of the Madhya Pradesh High Court had highlighted the need for safeguarding this Constitutional provision.

Dr. Joshi said that in the last four decades, Presidential proclamations under Article 356 had been made 88 times. The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)], which had all along wanted this provision scrapped

had changed its stand and supported the Narasimha Rao regime when the elected BJP Governments in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan were dismissed. He said the CPI(M) should clarify its stand on the federal polity in this context.

Dr. Joshi did not favour scrapping the provision as it was meant to be used only in specific situations, such as the breakdown of law and order and the constitutional machinery. He said all political parties should decide together to protect the basic federal character of the Constitution.

The political resolution of the BJP asserted that the Ayodhya incident exposed the pseudo-secularists and communalists alike. It reiterated the party's demand for removal of all obstacles in rebuilding the Ram temple at Ayodhya. Any proposal for building the temple by a Government-sponsored trust would be unacceptable to the BJP, Dr. Joshi declared.

The resolution has also called for lifting the ban on RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and other organisations and demanded that the nexus among politicians, criminals and foreign agents should be broken. He alleged that the Memon family had been allowed to escape because many officials were involved.

In an effort to woo the farmer, the party proposes to observe from April 25 to May 10 its 'Save Agriculture—Save Country' programme by holding dharnas and demonstrations at block and district levels demanding remunerative prices to the farmers, cheaper inputs, and relief to farmers hit by drought. It opposed the Dunkel proposals on agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry as these would be detrimental to the farm sector. The BJP intends to observe April 28 as 'Restore Democracy Day'.

#### Resolution on Kashmir

93AS0818F Madras THE HINDU in English  
14 Apr 93 p 6

[Text] Calcutta, April 13—The Bharatiya Janata Party [Bharatiya Janata Party] has said it would make the Jammu and Kashmir problem a part of its larger political campaign against the Narasimha Rao Government on the issue of compromising the security of the country.

The national executive committee meeting of the party finalised and adopted a separate resolution on the issue and the party leader, Mr. L.K. Advani, on Monday warned that the BJP would undertake "a massive nationwide movement" against any attempt by the Centre to restore a "quasi independent state" to Kashmir by taking it back to its pre-1953 status.

Basically, the three-page party resolution emphasises its demand for repealing Article 370 as a "precondition" for the "full cultural, political and economic integration of Kashmir with the rest of India." The "formula" that the BJP has suggested is to repeal Article 370 together with

an economic package for the region to ensure the "economic assimilation of the Kashmiris in the Indian economic order."

Mr. Advani who released the resolution to the press here said the recent talk of restoring the pre-1953 status was irresponsible and that "this nation would not allow Rajesh Pilots to do this."

Before 1953: He explained that before 1953, there was a permit system to regulate the entry of all non-Kashmiris into the Valley, that the Chief Minister was designated Prime Minister of Kashmir, that no "outsider" could be appointed Governor, and the Supreme Court and the Election Commission as well as other high institutions had no jurisdiction over the State.

That, he said, would be totally unacceptable to the nation and to the BJP which resolved "not to allow the clock to be turned back under any circumstances." He said if necessary the BJP would lead a nationwide agitation against this.

Mr. Advani said the talk of restoring the pre-1953 status reflected "a total bankruptcy of policy" and a "complete failure to appreciate the nature of the threat in Jammu and Kashmir" by the Union Government.

The State, the resolution said, was a "victim of terrorism and separatism inspired by fundamentalism, aided and abetted by our neighbour." Mr. Advani repeated his known stand that Pakistan was fighting "an inexpensive war" in Kashmir with minimum risk to itself.

And as long as the Rao Government is in place, "the security of the country is gravely imperilled." And it is here that the BJP's statement on Kashmir ties up with its political resolution which was finalised today but would be released tomorrow by the party president, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi.

Political resolution: The political resolution is expected to state that the security of the country is also under threat as a result of criminalisation of politics and the nexus between politicians (allegedly of the Congress(I) and the CPI-M) and criminals evident in the Bombay blasts and the Calcutta explosion which together killed more than 300 people.

The BJP's Kashmir resolution has demanded repeal of Article 370 which gives it a special status, an economic package regional councils for Jammu and Ladakh, added security in the Doda region of Jammu and a visit to that area by a parliamentary committee.

The resolution also emphasises the need to "eliminate the reasons" that have led to the exodus from the Valley of the "patriotic population of the State" which includes more than two lakh Hindus and Sikhs and also a large number of Muslims.

Perhaps this is the first time that the BJP has talked about Kashmir without pointedly talking about the alleged destruction of temples in the State. Yet another

first is the recognition by the party that not only Hindus and Sikhs but also Muslims are victims of the militancy in Kashmir.

### Future Agenda Told

93AS0818G Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
15 Apr 93 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 14—The name of the new president of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] is expected to be formally announced by June 10, and he is expected to take over on June 18 in Bangalore when a three-day session of the party's National Council will begin.

The fact that the current president, Prof. Murli Manohar Joshi, will be replaced was once again virtually confirmed by Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari, party vice-president, here today when he said that "a new chapter in the party's organisation will then begin."

The three-day National Council will be preceded by a two-day working committee meeting on June 16 and 17, also in Bangalore. The working committee session will be presided over by Prof. Joshi.

The party expects that about 1,200 to 1,300 delegates will attend the session. Besides the Council members who number around 750, State unit officer-bearers, all MPs [Member of Parliament] and the party's former MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] of the four dissolved Assemblies will be invited.

Poll schedule: Mr. Bhandari indicated that after the completion of the party's organisational polls in the States by May 30, the process of nominations for the presidentship will begin on June 1 and be completed by June 10. Although the party constitution provides for elections—with an electoral roll of about 5,000 members consisting of the members of the State councils and the National Council—so far the post has never been contested. All but one of the nominated persons withdraw to allow for a unanimous decision.

Since the inception of the BJP in 1980, Prof. Joshi's term has been the most controversial within the party. Ever since his Ekta Yatra from Kanyakumari to Srinagar came a cropper with his having to fly to the valley in a government aircraft to unfurl the national flag there on Republic Day in 1992, his presidentship has aroused hostility among the party cadre. Mr. L.K. Advani, Leader of the Opposition, continued to enjoy the status of the tallest BJP leader within the party and outside.

Mr. Bhandari said while the Ram temple issue and the demand of the party for the restoration of its dissolved Assemblies and State Governments, and the lifting of the ban on the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] will continue to be highlighted, the recently concluded national executive committee meeting in Calcutta had given a new thrust by asking cadre to take up farmer-related issues of remunerative prices and opposition to some of the Dunkel

proposals which the BJP thinks will have an adverse impact on Indian agriculture.

He said other issues highlighted at the executive were the Jammu and Kashmir problem and the question of illegal immigration from Bangladesh. "However, for the moment the party has not finalised any specific action programme on these two issues," Mr. Bhandari said.

For the moment the party will concentrate on its immediate demand for revival of its State Governments using the Madhya Pradesh High Court verdict to get political mileage. And in June the new BJP chapter will open with a new president in place. It is clear that it is only after that that the party hopes to give a new thrust to its action programmes with a view to press home the political advantage gained from the Ayodhya agitation to convert it into victory at the hustings.

### Bengal Congress Seen in Crisis Due to Lack of Leadership

93AS0764A Calcutta *ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA*  
in Bengali 9 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Debashish Bhattacharya: "Unless Congress Establishes Capable Leadership, West Bengal's Situation Will Become Like That of Tripura"]

[Text] After the utter ruin of the Congress in Tripura, party leaders and many of the workers are holding their high command, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, directly responsible. There is no doubt that the role of the Congress high command or the prime minister in the Tripura drama is really mysterious. The prime minister was able to finish his election tour of Tripura with mental tranquility barely 20-22 hours before the postponement of the election was announced in February; but he never bothered to call and find out during this April's real poll whether his party is alive or dead! Is that not unnatural for the highest-ranking leader of the party?

Not only the prime minister, but until Tuesday night, no other leader of the Congress high command from Delhi had contacted the Congress leaders in Agartala. They did not even want to know why this utter disaster happened to Congress in Tripura! Mr. Oscar Fernandez, who flew to Agartala from Delhi, sat as a paper tiger with a deadpan face. He has neither the power to say anything, nor any power to act. Having noticed all this, everybody thought that the Delhi high command was not at all worried about the Tripura Congress. Instead, they appeared to expect the poll results. Otherwise, they would not have displayed such a cruel indifference.

Now the question is: Has the Congress given Tripura as a "gift" to the Marxists to keep them in good humor? Has the prime minister used Tripura as a pawn to pay the price of a deal so that the budget could be passed smoothly in the Lok Sabha, the government could survive any crisis through the help of the Marxist "friends?" [as published] Political analysts would naturally answer



in the affirmative. And it is happening accordingly. I would not say even that all these explanations are baseless. But it is also necessary to see whether the state-level Congress leaders can pass the buck by simply blaming the high command, whether they would be allowed to avoid taking responsibility.

I would say at the outset that no Tripura-specialists of the Congress ever mentioned rigging, terrorism, or CPM's [Communist Party of India-Marxist] pre-marking of the ballots on 3 April when the poll really took place after so much crisis. Instead, I have heard several senior and experienced Congress leaders saying in a totally relaxed mood, "Nothing to worry about. The Congress is definitely going to win." They calculated that there was no doubt about a box-full of Congress votes, since 70 percent of the votes were polled and women came out in big numbers to cast their votes. Needless to say, the poll result has proved all their conjectures wrong. It is a fact that 70 percent of the votes were polled. The election was peaceful. The women voted. Even then, the Congress could not win. My humble question is: Who prevented the common people from voting for the Congress—regardless of whether the Congress high command made any deal with the CPM! The Congress did not complain about trouble, rigging, or resistance during the poll. Therefore, common sense says that the people were able to vote. It can be said, based on this logic, that the voters in Tripura did not vote for the Congress. And when a party is defeated like this, the state leadership of that party cannot avoid responsibility. Today after being defeated in the poll a leader like Santosh Mohan Dev has been citing the intra-party squabbles as the reason for defeat. But why was factionalism kept alive; why did the Congress not become unified, from the time of candidates' selection to the management of election? Could Narasimha Rao alone answer these questions?

Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar told me in Agartala during a discussion after the sudden eleventh-hour postponement of the polls last February that he informed the CPM leadership in Tripura in advance of the possibility of a postponement. His long absence from the Congress poll campaign indicated that he was not keen enough to lead the Congress to victory in Tripura under the leadership of Santosh Mohan-Samir Ranjan Barman. Maharani Bibhu Devi, another MP [member of Parliament], had the same attitude. But no one failed to show his face very reluctantly during the prime minister's election tour. And these people have calculated at home how to stab the party from behind. Simultaneously, Samir Barman's stubbornness has pushed the party into such an uncomfortable situation that candidates with the symbol of Congress "hand" have become dissidents. The official Congress candidates had to fight with symbols that were reserved for independent candidates. With the party in such a condition, no sane, intelligent person would depend on the party nor should one depend? Generally, people's impression about the Congress leaders in Tripura is not very good. That's a fact. On top of this,

these incidents have been noticed by the people and they have shaken the base of their trust. And the Congress leaders of Delhi and Tripura have miserably failed to return this trust in the people's mind. This is a major reason behind the Congress poll disaster in Tripura and this reason is a hundred times more real than the charge of a "secret understanding" between the Congress high command and the CPM.

Today, the confused leaders of West Bengal, having seen the Tripura scenario, are now shouting to have an election under the president's rule in this state. God knows what lessons they learned from the Tripura poll results, even after the imposition of president's rule. The Congress leaders here have perhaps not yet realized that president's rule in Tripura will not lessen the Congress crisis. Because, taking the Tripura example into account, the same situation remains in West Bengal. Here, too, some of the Congress leaders would run to "supply" information to the CPM, or others would try their best to embarrass the party.

It is true that Narasimha Rao did not assume, or was not keen to assume, the necessary firm role of the high command to rescue the party from an evil spell. Rao did not prepare the party in such a way that it could take on the organized Marxists in a CPM-influenced state like Tripura and West Bengal. Even a staunch enemy of Siddhartha Ray would admit that CPM recoiled a lot after he was first made the state Congress president and then the leader of the opposition in the State Assembly. Congress now cannot be found in the Assembly. The allegations of the Congress have been refuted by the forceful argument of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu during his presentation of the police budget. But the mood of the Assembly was different when Siddhartha Ray was the leader of the opposition. The last time the chief minister's secretariat had to set up "hot" lines with the districts at the Assembly House to tackle the heat of Siddhartha Ray's lecture during his police budget presentation. The aim was to quickly exchange information. A computer was used. The chief minister's secretaries were all on their toes to prepare replies to various charges of Siddhartha Ray. Siddhartha Ray might have committed a thousand sins, but the legitimacy of his leadership as an alternative to Jyoti Basu was unquestionable. And people accepted this. Right at that moment, Narasimha Rao sent him as an ambassador to the United States to drive home his point that he did not want to disturb the sweet dreams of the CPM.

In the meantime, a lot of things happened. Narasimha Rao needs the Marxists' support for many reasons. Because of that need, the interests of West Bengal or Tripura are not that important to him. From that point also it cannot be denied that the phenomenal CPM win in the Tripura election had the "blessings" of the Congress high command. But it should be observed simultaneously that the Congress lacks good leadership also. Who is the alternative—that is the most important question. Could the Congress have possibly formed a stable government for five years if the party had won?

No, they could not have done it. Otherwise, the divisive drama of the Sudhir Majumdar government would not have taken place. Why would the people believe the Congress's promise of a stable government? If the Congress comes to power today in West Bengal, will it be able to continue a stable government for five years? I can swear that they will not be able to govern even for five months with the present condition of the party. The biggest question is: Who will be the unanimous leader to become the chief minister? Somen Mitra, Mamata Bandyopadhyay, Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, Subrata Mukhopadhyay or the Central ministers like Pranab Mukhopadhyay or Ajit Panja? No. So, it does not matter whether it is Tripura or West Bengal; the wisest decision would be not to indulge in daydreaming about forming a government through ballot until proper leadership is formed.

### Madhya Pradesh High Court Verdict Appealed

93AS0822 Madras *THE HINDU* in English

13 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 12—The Union of India [UOI] today filed an appeal in the Supreme Court against the two to one majority judgment of the Jabalpur Bench of the Madhya Pradesh High Court on April 2, quashing the Presidential proclamation of December 15 last issued under Article 356 of the Constitution which dismissed State Government led by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and dissolved the Assembly. Article 356 deals with provisions (relating to imposition of President's rule in case of failure of Constitutional machinery in States).

The appeal filed by Miss A. Subhashini, Central Government Counsel, will come up before the Court on April 13 during "mention time."

Along with this appeal—which was 'settled' by Mr. K. Parasaran, a former Attorney-General—an interlocutory application seeking 'ad interim ex-parte stay' of the operation of the judgment of the High Court was also filed by the Union of India (UOI).

'Not justiciable': The appeal, in assailing the High Court judgment, submitted inter alia that "a presidential proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution is not justiciable at all."

The High Court failed to appreciate that the substitution of present clause (5) in Article 356 of the Constitution by the 44th amendment (1978)—in the place of earlier clause (5) in this article introduced by 38th amendment (1975)—"does not confer on the court a jurisdiction to enter into the merits of the satisfaction of the president in issuing a proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution," the appeal contended.

The appeal also submitted that the High Court erred in holding that the scope of judicial scrutiny in relation to Article 356 had been enlarged after the 44th amendment.

1978 judgment: The UOI's appeal also urged that the judgment of the High Court failed to bear in mind the submissions made before it (High Court) that the Apex Court in Rajasthan's case judgment (in 1978 relating to imposition of President's rule in nine States by the then Janata Party Government) had laid down the following propositions: (a) The government cannot be compelled to disclose all facts and materials relating to the "satisfaction" of the President. Article 74 of the Constitution would be a bar and the court would be precluded from going into the same. If the government does give reasons, "then the only scrutiny which the Court can carry out is to examine whether the reasons given are wholly extraneous to the formation of the satisfaction."

(b) If it is actually stated that an action was taken on a particular ground which really falls completely outside the purview of Article 356(1), the proclamation will be vitiated. If all the grounds of action are disclosed to the public by the Union and its own disclosure of grounds reveals that a constitutionally or legally prohibited or extraneous or collateral purpose is sought to be achieved then the Court may interfere. The conclusion of the government as to the arising of a situation of the kind envisaged in Article 356(1) is generally speaking not open to challenge.

(c) The Courts do not sit in judgment over the satisfaction of the President. So long as the reasons, if any are disclosed, given for the action, bear a reasonable nexus with the exercise of the particular power, the satisfaction of the President must be treated as conclusive and will not be open to judicial scrutiny.

(d) The sweep of Article 356 is very wide and the machinery thereof could be used by the Union Government for securing compliance with its view of Constitutional norms when in its opinion the State Government has failed to observe them.

(e) The proclamation may either safeguard against the failure of the Constitutional machinery or to repair the effects of a breakdown, action under Article 356 may be either preventive or curative.

(f) It is impossible for the Court to substitute its judgment for that of the Government. The satisfaction of the President is subjective one and cannot be tested by reference to any objective tests. It is not a decision which can be based on judicially discoverable and manageable standards. It can be based on inter alia public reaction, motivation and response to different classes.

(g) "There is yet another facet of this problem. Assuming that the reasons and the grounds disclosed be irrelevant this is only the first stage of the matter. The second stage, which is the most vital stage, is the one which comes into existence when the Council of Ministers deliberate and finally decide to advise the President. As to what further grounds may be considered by them at that time is anybody's guess. It is quite possible that the Council of Ministers may base the advice on grounds other than those mentioned in the

letter of the Home Minister. Clause (2) of Article 47—according to which the question whether any, and if so what advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into in any court—completely bars any inquiry by any Court into the matters which form the subject matter of the advice given by the Council of Ministers to the President.

### **President Opens Interparliamentary Union Meet**

93AS0821 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
13 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 12—Describing terrorists as “real outlaws,” the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, today called upon parliamentarians to “identify, condemn and eliminate such elements.” Terrorism should not be considered a localised problem but as a threat to democracy itself, he said opening the 89th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in the Central Hall of Parliament.

Dr. Sharma said international terrorism threatened the “very future of human civilisation” and hoped the conference would send out a powerful message of “our common resolve to fight sinister elements contriving to destroy all that we labour to create.” Without naming any country, he expressed particular concern over terrorism encouraged by one state against another.

The President also stressed the need to respect human rights and recognise the importance of inter-dependence in international affairs. These were key elements in building a stable and progressive society. A stable and progressive society could be built only if human rights were recognised, he said. “There is increased realisation that recognition and enforcement of human rights leads to stability in society and makes for upward mobility of weaker sections,” he added, saying that historically, societies where people were either suppressed or denied had failed.

### **Interdependence**

Similarly, “genuine interdependence” was indispensable to solving problems such as poverty, disease, backwardness and violence, Dr. Sharma said, urging parliamentarians to work together to create greater awareness of the benefits of interdependence. For, this was crucial to the notion of “one world.” He quoted the “Rig Veda” to underline the importance of cooperation and co-existence.

The President said the conference, being attended by delegates from over 100 countries, must be more than just an assembly of parliamentarians. It should provide a clear focus on democracy itself and promote greater cooperation in political, economic and technological spheres, besides “safeguarding our common environment and combating common threats to our value systems.”

Earlier, the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, in a brief speech described the IPU as a “proud symbol of cooperation” among democratic countries as it carried the voice of the people across national boundaries. A political system derived legitimacy from the people, and it was therefore imperative that representative institutions did not remain insular.

Emphasising that the greatest good could come from strengthening international cooperation, Mr. Rao said, “Inter-dependence becomes more and more real and compelling with every passing day. More than ever before, economic and ecological security have become matters that transcend national boundaries.” The quest for a peaceful world must be a “shared concern,” and it imposed on everyone a solemn responsibility.

### **Disarmament**

The IPU, the Prime Minister said, was a useful forum for encouraging international cooperation irrespective of the size and economic status of a nation. “We cannot go wrong if we make co-existence and peace our watchword, and common universal good our objective,” he told the delegates among whom was the U.N. Under-Secretary General, Mr. Joseph Reed, who read out a message on behalf of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali stressing practical steps to achieve global disarmament.

The Vice-President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, commended the IPU’s move to set up a global arms register and said it would be the first step towards “international control of the death-dealing free trade in arms.” The world, he said, needed to go beyond transparency in arms transfers and “reach out towards complete and comprehensive disarmament.” “The end of the cold war has not decreased the urgency of world disarmament. There are still nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the powers enough to blow up the world several times over,” he said adding that the IPU had an important role to play in disarmament.

The Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Shivraj Patil, with a colourful headgear, hoped the conference would help member-countries understand each other’s perspective better. India’s world view, he said, was to respect others’ opinion and the IPU’s objectives were in conformity with the Indian ethos. He called for a climate in which confrontation would be replaced by cooperation.

Mr. Michael Marshall, president of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, was happy that the conference was being held in Delhi, the “seat of one of the world’s largest democracies.” It was after a gap of 14 years that the IPU was meeting in India and the world geo-political situation had changed a great deal since.

The President presented a rosebowl to the wife of the late Gurdial Singh Dhillon, one-time speaker of the Lok Sabha and former president of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, in recognition of his contribution to parliamentary practices. Besides the delegates

the gathering included the former President, Mr. Zail Singh, MPs, members of the Council of Ministers, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi.

### **Congress (I) Suspension of Party Member Seen Harsh, Unnecessary**

93AS0775D Calcutta *THE STATESMAN in English*  
19 Apr 93 p 9

[First paragraph is introductory paragraph]

[Text] The Central leadership, under the impression that the detractors of J.B. Patnaik were also opposed to Rao, decided to suspend Biswal in a move viewed as harsh and unnecessary.

Bhubaneswar, April 18.—The decision of the Congress(I) Disciplinary Action Committee to suspend Mr. Basant Kumar Biswal and Mr. Lalatendu Mohapatra yesterday, has shocked party circles here. The move is being viewed as a step towards further disintegration of the party which would benefit the Janata Dal Government of Mr. Biju Patnaik.

Although very few Congressmen are prepared to go on record regarding their resentment against the move they feel the action was too harsh and unnecessary. Some of them felt Mr. Biswal and Mr. Mohapatra were made scape goats while dissident heavyweights were let off the hook. They argued that if the heavyweights were brought to book it would have discouraged dissident actively in the party at all levels. The Central leadership's attempt to project an impartial image by suspending these two members from different factions within the party has also come to naught.

Both were leaders in their own right with Mr. Biswal being a former Minister, CLP(I) [Congress Legislature Party] leader and PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] vice-president who has been a member of the Congress(I) throughout. Mr. Mohapatra had become an active Congress(I) leader by organizing the party's student wing. During 1985 Mr. Biswal was denied a ticket but he fought in the next elections and was among the 10 Congress(I) members who won. But he was later removed from his post as the Congress(I) Legislature Party leader. Between 1980 to 1990 Mr. Biswal, who was once the closest ally of Mr. J.B. Patnaik had fallen out of favour and turned out to be his arch rival. Recently he led the dissident camp in a bid to oust Mr. Patnaik, followed by violent scenes at the Congress Bhavan on February 14, this year. This clash, in which several leaders, including Mr. Biswal and his followers were injured, brought him to the notice of the Central leadership. The AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] sent the Union Minister and vice-chairman of the Disciplinary Committee, Mr. Balaram Jhakar, to study the situation.

Many congressmen felt Mr. Biswal had failed to muster support among the leaders in New Delhi. With Mr. Ram Chandra Rath, M.P., attending one of the Biswal camp

meetings the message sent to the Central leadership was that the detractors of Mr. J.B. Patnaik were also the detractors of Mr. Rao. Efforts by some rebels to remove this misconception apparently proved unsuccessful.

Although the J.B. Patnaik camp might feel elated at Mr. Biswal's suspension the joy will be shortlived. Mr. Mohapatra, considered the blue-eyed boy of Mr. Patnaik's camp was one of the few who had kept the Congress(I) active by organizing demonstrations and rallies. Political circles here feel had the DAC [expansion not given] thought about the party instead of individuals, it would have tried to issue a caution to both camps, asked them to unite and waited for sometime before taking strong measures. There is no point in taking action against leaders in Orissa when matters are worse at New Delhi, they stated.

Mr. Biswal who rushed back from Sambalpur today, made no comments on the DAC's decision.

### **Significance of Courts' Ruling on Government Dismissal Viewed**

93AS0812A Calcutta *BARTAMAN in Bengali*  
16 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Sukumar Dutt: "The Precedent-Setting Decision of the Madhya Pradesh High Court"]

[Text] Although it is one of the three partners of a healthy democracy, our judiciary has not played a very active role in the political revolution of the country. But occasionally it delivers verdicts that bring a whirlwind to the national politics and confuses many things. For instance in the seventies, as a result of the dismissal of the election of the then prime minister the late Indira Gandhi by Justice J.M.L. Sinha of the Allahabad High Court, the country's democratic process was distorted. The declaration of an emergency usurped constitutional rights and many leaders and workers were detained in jails. This unbearable chapter ended with the defeat of the Congress Party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi in the year 1977. However, afterwards, many investigations were held, governments changed in quick succession, but still no change was made in the pattern of democracy. But recently a verdict of the Madhya Pradesh High Court has pushed the nation to a new disaster. Although there is enough time for the final curtain to drop on this drama, the solution to the controversy that the verdict has initiated is not easily available. Even if the Supreme Court dismisses the verdict of the Madhya Pradesh High Court, its effects will still remain like a fire smouldering under the ashes and emitting sparks from time to time. The question that has emerged in a big way is the constitutional convenience of misusing power by the Center in the Center-state relations. There is a lot of controversy about Article 356 of the Constitution and many opposition parties are loudly demanding its elimination. But the funny thing is that the number of times that this opposition group has come to power, even for a short time, they did not pay

any attention to this matter. Thus, 356 is existing happily and its use and misuse continues.

It is being claimed that our constitutional style is federalism or the symbol of a friendly republic. But the reality does not say this. The theory of federalism is not workable here. On the contrary, the opposite has occurred. Making the Center all-powerful, the states have been turned into provinces. The financial power rests with the Center and whatever little is left for the states is gradually being snatched away by constitutional amendments. The states are now truly dependent on the Center. Our Constitution is basically a transformation of the Government of India Act of 1935, and thus in the distribution of power the Central Government's side in the scale has remained very heavy. Many debates were held on the reorganization of the Center-state relations, but in reality nothing has happened. As a result, the situation has remained in the same obscurity it was in before. With the objective of solving the problem, a commission was set up under the guidance of R.S. Sarkaria and its recommendations are still kept in abeyance. Thus, bitterness is increasing. And if it is not checked right away, it might ultimately crumble the national integrity.

The Center-state clashes are increasing on different issues. The article of the Constitution that has been misused the most is number 356. It was first misused in 1959 for sacking the communist ministry under E.M.S. Namboodiripad in Kerala. It was not that Namboodiripad's council of ministers lost the majority; they had the majority in the legislative assembly. But by implementing Article 356 under the pretext of an outside mass movement, president's rule was imposed there. That was the beginning of the misuse of this article on political grounds. Since then this constitutional distortion has taken place 70 or 80 times. In most cases it was done in the interest of the ruling party at the Center. For that purpose this article was arbitrarily interpreted. According to Article 356 when the president feels that a state government or more than one state government is incompetent in the implementation of the constitutionally approved administrative system, he can then dismiss that government or governments and take over their administrative power. Upon obtaining Parliamentary approval he can hold that power for one year, and in special cases, up to three years by amending the Constitution. What is required for this purpose is a report of the state governor that can add to the ideas of the president. The governors, who are appointed by the Center, will naturally carry out the Center's commands. One or two persons, such as Surjeet Singh Barnala and Tribhuvan Narayan Singh, tried to transgress and lost their jobs. Barnala's fault was his refusal to give to the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] government, which had two-thirds support in the legislative assembly, an excuse for not acting according to the constitution as a cause of its failure. [sentence as published] Tribhuvan Narayan Singh was also a victim of the same offence.

Therefore, scrutinizing the history of three decades, it will be found that the central ruling circles did not hesitate to use Article 356 whenever they felt the need of misusing it in the political and party interest. They did not bother with the fact that this could erode democratic values. As an example, in 1977 when the Janata Dal came to power, Charan Singh—then the home minister—did not hesitate to dismiss nine state governments with a stroke of a pen. It was not that they lost the majority. Charan Singh's argument was that the results of the 1977 Lok Sabha election proved the loss of public support for these state governments and, therefore, it would not be proper to keep them in power. With a similar argument, returning to power in 1980, Indira Gandhi dismissed quite a number of state governments. However, later, the late Rajiv Gandhi admitted that the issues related to the Lok Sabha and legislative assembly elections are different and, therefore, the outcome of one is not reflected on the other. But he also could not keep himself disengaged from it. The fall of the DMK government in Tamil Nadu is a burning example. Therefore, whatever they may say outwardly, they never hesitate to misuse power once they have been on the throne.

For instance, this time also, despite giving all pledges to safeguard democracy, Narasimha Rao was forced to take the undemocratic steps after the Ayodhya episode. But the excuse he used to dismiss the four state governments with the scratch of a pen, is not morally justifiable, because in none of the four states did the ruling system collapse or constitutional deadlock emerge. However, in the case of the Uttar Pradesh government, he was justified in using Article 356 because the state government violated the pledge it gave to the Supreme Court. But in this case too the Center was almost equally guilty because it also did not carry out its responsibility. Since the mistakes of the big boss can be ignored, the wrath naturally passed on to Uttar Pradesh. But what crime have Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh committed? The administrations there did not collapse, nor was there a constitutional deadlock.

For the sake of argument, it could be said that because the chief ministers of these governments were active members of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], they should not be allowed to stay in the government. But the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] was not banned and those governments belonged to that party. Therefore, if there was any charge against the chief minister or any other minister or ministers for having ties to the RSS, then the BJP party councils in those states could be approached for sending other nominations in their places, at least so long as the BJP was not banned. Thus, the application of Article 356 in this case looked like a misuse. The verdict of the Madhya Pradesh High Court has upheld this point before the people. Probably the Supreme Court will nullify this verdict because, in the view of the lawyers, Article 356 cannot be tried in a court. In spite of that the decision of the Madhya Pradesh high court will draw the attention toward a distortion that has continued for a long time. And if this

distortion continues, then the crack that develops in Center-state relations in the present set up, will certainly weaken the national solidarity. Thus, like the appointment and rights of the governors, this article of the Constitution should also be placed before the national council for reconsideration, and on the basis of the unanimous decision of that forum, clear directions be given and legal restrictions imposed. Only then will there be a balance in Center-state relations and national unity and solidarity be strengthened. Looking from this angle, there is an extreme need for such a verdict.

### **Punjab Circumstances Seen Steadily Improving**

*93AS0814A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 25 Apr 93 p 4*

[Editorial: "Punjab Steps Onto the Path of Progress"]

[Text] Whenever the law and order situation in a region deteriorates, progress and development also stop. Opposed to this, where there is peace and stability, the wave of progress reaches every corner. In this context, the example of Punjab is in front of us. In Punjab, from 1980 to 1992, for about 12 years, the rifle was the king and peace had retreated to some faraway land tired of the bullet sounds. Punjab has totally changed now. The people have given up the rifle culture and have pushed those who depend on guns away from their lives. As a result, many misled extremist youths were forced to return to the path of peace. Perhaps this was the first time when, at the historical festival of Baisakhi, the people of the state really enjoyed it and sighed with relief. This indicates that feelings of insecurity have left the people's minds and have been replaced with feelings of self-confidence. They are not worried about whether members of their families that leave the house will return or not. Now people have begun to travel from one place to another without any obstacles or fear.

It is the people of the state that deserve credit for taking terror-ridden Punjab onto the path of peace. These people, in spite of losing their peace day and night, did not give up their determination, and they took an active part in the election process, resulting in the election of a popular government. Beant Singh took over the government in February 1992 and demonstrated his political determination by starting a decisive war against terrorism with the support of the state's people. He gave government support to K.P.S. Gill, the chief of the machinery that was going to control the law and order situation, and also provided him security force help, so that Punjab was brought back onto the path of progress. All peace-loving citizens of our nation are happy about the peaceful situation in Punjab, because this has started a new chapter in its history. However, we feel sorry about the fact that some newspapers and magazines that publish news about terrorist activities, looting, and arson have not paid attention to the establishment of peace in this state, or they do not think it is appropriate to write about this peace. In addition to the establishment of

peace in Punjab, its fields and gardens are also flourishing, and industrial production is increasing. We cannot just ignore all this news.

Punjab's neighboring state is Jammu-Kashmir, and there is not much similarity between these two states. At the same time, though, there is not much difference either. The Kashmir Valley is still in turmoil, and anti-national elements have still not stopped their activities there. During the last few days, the separatist forces have burned hundreds of homes in Srinagar and have participated in many violent activities. Even though the governor has ordered investigations of these incidents, it is not difficult to understand who these people are and who is encouraging them in these activities based on the anti-India slogans those elements have raised, the attempts they have made to enter Indian territories, and confrontations between these extremists and Indian security forces. In any case, it is important to control these elements strictly and to establish peace in Jammu-Kashmir. This way, the democratic process can be started and a popular government established there, just as in Punjab. Elections are very important in a democratic system, and this specific state in our nation has been deprived of this process. No one would want to hold elections there without first establishing a normal situation. This would only push the people back into the era of indecision. We must take effective steps to create an environment conducive to holding elections. This is the duty of the governor and the Central Government, and they must do it with full dedication and sincerity. It should be remembered that even a minor negligence in this context could put the sensitive region of Kashmir into a very serious situation. It is important that, with the support of the people there, peace and stability be established with the help of security forces, and those who make trouble at the behest of Pakistan should be given a strong shock treatment. Pakistan will not stop these actions, because Sharif's government is fighting for its existence after the resignation of five cabinet members and due to his differences with the president. The military generals of Pakistan have formed an entirely different opinion about it. In this situation, their anti-India campaign will not stop. After analyzing the entire situation fully, we must take the initiative toward establishing peace and the democratic process in the Kashmir Valley.

### **Direction, Motivation of BJP Analyzed**

#### **Appeal Fading**

*93AS0810A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 21 Apr 93 p 4*

[Article by Shivdas Bandyopadhyay: "BJP is Now Just Maintaining Itself, the Time of the Riots is When it Peaked"]

[Text] The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] is a party in the main stream of national politics. It was realized after the Calcutta Conference that like other national parties—the

Congress, Janata or the Leftists—this party is also facing serious theoretical, political, and organizational crises. The internal dispute in the party became evident at the party's national working committee session in Calcutta. To the Congress Party this will provide the time and weapon to resist the BJP. However, the Congress will have to definitely launch a large-scale country-wide theoretical and political movement for this purpose. The movement of the Congress Party will be completing that agitation which was started by the Leftists on one side and by Mulayam Singh, Kansiram, and different factions of the Janata Party on the other. But there is only one question: Will the Congress Party be able to unify to do it?

If the BJP is called insidious, then its supporters will surely be angry. But will they deny that like earlier occasions their Calcutta session also pursued a two-faced policy? However, on a few issues some new directions have emerged. The party leadership has decided to withdraw for the time being their warlike attitude and defer the Ram Janmabhumi [birth place of God Ram] issue so that it can be brought up again at election time. Now stressing the public meetings, they want to spread their nets further so that the Hindus who are tired of movements can be resuscitated to the uncertainties of the communal situation that followed the Bombay and Calcutta bomb explosions.

Not a bit of the damage, which the BJP suffered for 6 December Ayodhya episode and the events that followed and the failure of the proposed Boat Club meeting [in Delhi], was met at the Calcutta conference. It has now been fixed in the minds of the people that the BJP does not show respect to the Constitution, judiciary, and law and order, and at the same time its party workers made no preparations toward meeting the challenges of the administration. If along with its administrative stringency the ruling Congress Party at the Center can take political initiatives, then it still will be possible to keep the BJP under control. The Ayodhya issue can now no more excite the public and the political initiative has spontaneously slipped into the hands of Narasimha Rao. He can now make a decision on it as he wishes, and the BJP can only respond or register its reactions. Although lately the Congress Party is hesitating to make a timely decision on some special situations, still this party knows the battlefield far better than the BJP. Therefore, if the BJP has to wait for a long time to capture Delhi, then it is going to be detrimental to it.

The BJP leaders have definitely realized that the passion for Hinduism is now not that strong. Therefore, their leaders have racked their brains for a long time at the Calcutta conference on creating a strategy following Ayodhya. Now they have unbridled their horse for sacrifice [ritual performed by the kings in ancient India] in southern India, but that did not show any fresh sign of increasing public support for them either. The leadership has not yet been able to give a satisfactory reply as to why it was not able to get 110 million signatures on a memorandum demanding the construction of the temple

of Ram on disputed land. Meanwhile, the time for depositing the memorandum to the president [of India] was postponed. A certain party leader has admitted that perhaps it will not be possible to secure more than seven million signatures.

It is obvious from the appeal made by L.K. Advani and Atal Behari Vajpayee on controlling the direction of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, how uneasy the leadership is feeling about the loss of credibility of the party on this issue. Vajpayee has talked about the need to control the zeal and militancy among the lower ranking workers and supporters of the party, and Advani wanted a halt and periodic punctuation to the incessant love for the movement. Even then the party could not strengthen its position on any other issue besides Ayodhya. The attempt to expand the party's political appeal by including the economic issues and other demands was not very successful because no unanimity could be reached inside the party. The slogan raised for buying the indigenous goods could not make further headway. The rigid attitude of the party on the question of infiltration was also considered an attempt to ignite the fire of communalism. J.P. Mathur's view that the Hindu evacuees are refugees and Muslims are infiltrators and collaborators of Islamic aggression has kept this provocation alive.

It should be remembered that the temple and the illegal entry issues, in fact, are the creation of the Federal Government, and the BJP has only used them. Together these two issues can push the nation into a greater disaster. The way the BJP presented itself at the Calcutta conference does not even agree with its own nature and character. When reading the alternative economic proposal called the "shadow budget," it seemed that we were reading something like an alternative draft development scheme composed by West Bengal Finance Minister Ashim Dasgupta.

At the Calcutta conference the BJP withdrew the demand of holding an immediate mid-term election all over the country. Even when the national council of the party demanded the removal of the Congress government at the Center, Advani dismissed the possibility of the fall of the government. His view was that, although the government does not hold a clear majority in the Lok Sabha, the opposition of other parties to elections has given the mandate to the government to remain in power. He said that because of the unwritten agreement with other parties, it is not possible to call a mid-term election by defeating the government in the houses of Parliament. Therefore, the BJP program has not composed anything in that direction.

The promised program of the party also looks very harmless. Earlier it was said that the party's national working committee would start a vigorous non-violent political struggle for inactivating the administrations in the four states, which are under the president's rule. Instead, we find a program of country-wide sit-ins on 28 April demanding the re-establishment of democracy.



Perhaps the leadership has realized that the temple issue has been used so much that nothing new can be expected from it now. However, the party's political resolution has routinely mentioned the election of a new government by dismissing the inactive, corrupt, and bewildered Rao government. Stressing the question of the internal security of the country, Advani said that the weakness and confusion in the government are encouraging the criminals to engage in violence.

Even though Advani repeatedly mentioned the split in the Federal Government, the debate on the leadership issue in his own party peaked at the Calcutta conference. Compared to the past many more personality clashes and discipline problems now exist in the party. And whoever is elected as a successor to Murli Mohan Joshi [president of BJP] at the party's Bangalore session will have to think hard about this issue.

There was a time when the BJP could brag about the strength, devotion, and sincerity of its cadres, but this has become a problem with the expansion of the party. The closer the BJP is to obtaining power, the stronger the feud among them is for position, power, and the throne. Like the Congress Party the group clashes are also growing tall in the party's state branches and those are being kept alive by the central leadership. The party is also not fully free from the allegations of corruption. To increase the membership and support of the party, it had to enter into several beneficial agreements and understandings that it will also have to do in the future. A party, which was considered as outcast and untouchable only a few days ago, has to go through all these things to become legitimate and accepted at the national level. The admission card for journalists—who were present to collect news at the party's Calcutta conference—bore the signature of a former director general of the state police who was never recognized in the police forces as free from corruption.

At the Calcutta conference, the party tried to develop a strategy to increase the pressure to hold legislative assembly elections in the four states and a mid-term election for the Lok Sabha. But behind the scenes heated debate continued on who would be Joshi's successor. It was noticed at the conclusion of the session that party president Joshi was no longer relevant, and Advani and Vajpayee have emerged as its two principal leaders. Some circles also proposed the name of Kalyan Singh. But he was not a brahmin and, moreover, his nomination could send a false signal to the followers inside the party and to the enemy outside. Therefore, his name was omitted.

The final decision, however, will be made by the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh]. One of their arguments against Vajpayee could be that he has a too lenient and compromising attitude. However, Vajpayee himself wishes to see Advani as the leader, though that will violate the policy of one man one position. With this policy the Congress Party split, and, therefore many

members raised the question of whether, like the Congress Party, the BJP should also compromise in a similar way on this policy issue. However, the strongest argument in favor of Advani is that he can take the BJP and its programs forward as he has done in the past, and at the same time he can also adopt a flexible reasonable position.

### Future Uncertain

93AS0810B Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali  
21 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Sukumar Dutt: "In the End, What Path Will BJP Take?"]

[Text] Home Minister Shankar Rao Chavan's cancellation of the possibility of holding elections in the four states—Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh—has put the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leadership in quite a tight position. After making a Herculean effort at the recently held working committee meeting [in Calcutta] the leadership made the party agree to draw a political plan by easing off their demand for Ram's homeland. However much bragging they might do outwardly, a section of the party leadership—considered to be wise—could realize that it will not be possible to win the next election by merely making Ram the trump card. It has to be blended with some other things.

First, the BJP today stands isolated. Besides the Shiv Sena [militant Hindu wing] and the banned aggressive fundamentalist organizations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Party, no other political party wishes to trample even on the shadow of the BJP today. This is intolerable for any political party. Even the Muslim League, which is the symbol of Muslim fundamentalism, is not as much of an outcast. At least in Kerala they have secured the first rank position in the ruling coalition, and in Tamil Nadu too they are the partners of one or two political fronts. But the BJP has no such partner anywhere. Some of their leaders hoped that by cajoling Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalitha they would be able to reach an understanding, but that turned out to be an utter disappointment. Whatever Jayalalitha might be, she is not a fool. She knew that the banner of Hinduism would not find enough response in the south. Moreover, to gain in the northern region the persevering BJP will have to be the worshipper of the Hindi language, which is not only obsolete but also unacceptable in Tamil Nadu. In other words, the little importance that Jayalalitha gave recently to the BJP was like teaching the guilty a lesson by railing at the innocent. That is to say, to teach a little lesson to her electoral partner—the Congress Party. This twist was given because the leadership of the state [Tamil Nadu] Congress Party had gone slightly beyond its limit.

However, the twist is absolutely temporary because Jayalalitha knows pretty well that in the conflict between the two rival DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]

groups, the one on whose side the Congress joins will surely win. Although the DMK, under Karunanidhi's leadership, was defeated in the last election, the difference in votes between them and Jayalalitha's Anna-DMK [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], so to say, was very little. The Congress support was at the root of Jayalalitha's success. Therefore, whatever she might do now, Jayalalitha will not go for any electoral understanding with the BJP by leaving the Congress Party because the BJP has no existence in Tamil Nadu. However, as an alternative, the BJP also extended its arms to N.T. Rama Rao—the leader of the Telugu Desham in Andhra Pradesh—but it also was rejected.

In Uttar Pradesh also, the alliance between Mulayam Singh and Kansiram of the Bahujana Samaj Party has become a matter of great anxiety for the BJP. Even if the BJP succeeds in containing the Congress Party with the slogans of Ram or Ayodhya, the Mulayam-Kansiram alliance could dig its grave in that state. First, there is strong support behind Mulayam for his secular and anti-corruption image, and it has been noticed in a survey this time that 99 percent of the Muslim community will associate itself with the Mulayam-Kansiram alliance by deserting the Congress Party. Slackness in the rigidity of the caste system is the biggest pillar for this alliance. If the backward class people support Mulayam Singh, then Kansiram can claim the representation of the Harijan [untouchables] and other depressed classes. The BJP leadership realized that under such circumstances it will not be able to checkmate them by putting forward only religion as a pretext. Therefore, the party's economic resolution puts importance to its pledge of making an all-out effort to improve the rural economic condition. They hoped that by not making Ram the foundation of the political resolution and manifesting opposition to various federal programs in the economic resolution, a pledge to eradicate corruption at all levels of the society—especially those in the forefront of power—might be able to remedy, if not wholly, at least to some extent the party's untouchable status.

The BJP knows pretty well that if it remains isolated in this manner, its much desired throne in the Federal Government will remain weak even after gaining the unexpected success in the election. The victory of the Hindi belt can never place it on the throne in Delhi. Moreover, it cannot be said what will take place in the Hindi belt this time. In Uttar Pradesh, the Mulayam-Kansiram alliance could change the platform with the support of the Leftists and their position in the Madhya Pradesh also is not at all strong. If the Congress Party fights the election unitedly resolving their own disputes, then repetition of the last time might not take place. In Bihar, Laloo Prasad is still not allowing the BJP to come in and at present it is not impossible to expect some slight differences in the political balance in Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh also. Therefore, the BJP has paid more attention to politics than religion at the Calcutta session. However, the religious banner has not been discarded; it is standing on one side and will be used as is convenient.

But Shankar Rao Chavan's sudden announcement has jostled their chessboard. However, Chavan utters irrelevant things on many occasions, and if his hint of consultations with the council of ministers does not provide an importance to it, then his Chandigarh statement will have also been dropped there. The BJP took its strategy from the cues and signs of the government and the Congress Party circles. But when the foundation of its strategy collapses, all its tricks are also going to fail. The leadership has to work hard to bring the party's outlook away from aggressive fundamentalism into a tolerable political shell. This is because one of its units, clinging tight to fundamentalism at the provocation of the current president, Murli Mohan Joshi, was determined to carry on its feverish activities only on the temple issue. In their opinion the dispute over the temple and Ayodhya has brought their election success and so it should be used as their trump card.

But the moderate section of the party leadership believed that aggressive fundamentalism would erode the party's image, and they upheld the total failure of the Delhi meeting and lack of expected response in Calcutta and other places as proof of their argument. According to their research, crying loudly for religion may not bring victory in the four impending legislative assembly elections because the Federal Government has already taken the initiative to build the Ram temple. More debate will cause a large section of the voters to become suspicious. Under the circumstances, the only alternative is to brighten the political and social image of the party. That might enable them to get the support of some smaller parties and remedy to some extent their current untouchable status. The Sangh [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] family has accepted this reasoning and has also agreed to put into leadership people with liberal images and to remove hot-headed persons like Dr. Joshi. But they want Lal Krishna Advani, not Vajpayee, as the chief because Vajpayee has openly criticized the Ayodhya episode. But many others—those who do not belong to the Sangh family—like Vajpayee—are of the opinion that, if the CBI [Criminal Bureau of Investigation] investigation proves Advani's active role in the Ayodhya episode, then his placement at Dr. Joshi's position prior to the election might create an adverse reaction. They claim that it will be possible to frustrate the efforts of the CBI and the government if Advani is retained as opposition leader in Parliament.

But Chavan's announcement has foiled their whole calculation. It now seems that there will not be any immediate election because the settlement of a case in the supreme court takes a long time. The Narasimha Rao government will perhaps extend the period of president's rule in these four states for another six months. It will not be difficult to obtain approval for it in Parliament because no one will come forward in support of the isolated BJP. In the available time the water will flow further and the shock of it will also be felt by the BJP because in the backdrop of the postponement of the elections, Dr. Joshi and his supporters will again try to

raise their heads and try to push the BJP once again toward aggressive fundamentalism. Dr. Joshi, who is determined to acquire another term in the chief's position, will not spare any effort in this regard. Therefore, the uncertainty with the election might put the BJP into a new conflict. Will the party try to get the recognition as a full-fledged political entity by casting off its skin of peevish fundamentalism or will it tightly grasp the religion issue? The solution to this question will be found from the election of the party chief next June.

### **Congress Said Adopting New Strategy to Combat Hindutva**

*93AS0814B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 21 Apr 93 p 6*

[Article by R. C. Pandit: "Congress Employs a New Strategy to Address Hindutva"]

[Text] It appears that P.V. Narasimha Rao, Congress (I) president and the prime minister, is in a dilemma regarding a decision about holding elections in the four states—Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh—that are now under president's rule. His closest associates believe that the main reason for this indecision is that Narasimha Rao has already decided to announce elections in these four states even before the term for president's rule is over and before attending the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] meeting in Thailand. In this context, and as the party president, he appointed state presidents for the Congress Parties of these four states and told them that they should begin to investigate who would be a good candidate to run in the elections and from which constituencies. However, after returning from abroad, investigating the situation, and asking various committees to give their opinions, Mr. Rao was forced to rethink his previous decision. Why did this happen? According to some reliable sources, some top party leaders had expressed the hope that, if the elections were postponed for a while, the Congress (I) would become stronger. However, Mr. Rao's close advisors have suggested that he hold elections early. Himachal Pradesh was rated number one. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan were numbers two and three for victory, and Uttar Pradesh was left out. Looking at it, the party leaders said if announcements were made early to hold elections, the party would get support from the people for following the democratic process. Thus, seeing his earlier decision being questioned, the prime minister's dilemma is increasing. In this context, he was advised that the election policy of the party must be reconsidered. They also suggested that the issue to be used in the election campaign must be fully analyzed. In addition to deciding on which issue would be presented to the voters, it was suggested that they should wait for the results of the appeal that the Central Government has filed in response to the Jabalpur court's decision. It is understood that the prime minister has considered this suggestion to be solid, even though he has not made a decision yet. He has, however, given an opportunity to his advisors to publicize their opinion so that they can

see the reactions of the people. This would also provide an opportunity for the Congress (I) to see how effective it is in confronting the challenges posed by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. The Congress is unable to find any solid basis in its meeting. In the coordination meeting, it was openly suggested that, if the party has to openly go against the BJP, the Congress (I) must present the slogan of Hinduism that the BJP has raised in its own format. This would help change the attitude of the voters, and it requires additional time. To this end, the extension of president's rule in these states would be beneficial to the party.

The reason for the Congress Party's strategy is to publicize the tolerant nature of Hindus, as opposed to the Hinduism represented by the BJP. While referring to Hinduism, Mr. Vitthal Gadgil, general secretary of the Congress (I) Party, tried to illustrate with the example of Ahalya Holkar, who had rebuilt the Kashi temple, by saying it should be built without harming the mosque. Similarly, Shivaji also ordered his soldiers never to harm any mosque, and if they found a copy of the Holy Koran, they must give it to a kazi. Later, Vivekananda talked about "Vedanta brain and Islamic body." Thus, the base of Hinduism has been the same for thousands of years, and Hinduism is being presented in the wrong light now. This way, if the Congress Party decides to change its election politics and order its election units to plan for playing this role in the election, only the future will tell what attitude the people will form over it. Anyway, it has been decided that the Congress Party is to change its campaign, because its high command is especially paying attention to the fact that its competition is only with the BJP, and it can beat it by providing the real definition of Hinduism.

Meanwhile, the BJP has made its decision more firm, and has issued a statement after the three-day working committee meeting in Calcutta. In this statement, with reference to Lal Krishna Advani, they have announced that the Narasimha Rao government could endanger the country if it stays in power even a little longer. Mr. Advani has asked the Communist (M) government to vote against the Narasimha Rao government in the budget session to defeat him. Mr. Lal Krishna Advani is also saying that the Marxist Communist Party should relinquish its double standard about the Central Government. The top leaders of the BJP have stated that they have decided not to let the Narasimha Rao government stay in power for long, and they are focusing on their efforts to demand elections in the four states where the Central Government has dismissed the BJP governments and force the government to hold mid-term elections. The BJP will start this campaign when the Lok Sabha session starts on 19 April regardless of whether other opposition parties support it or not. In addition, the BJP will start a new slogan from 25 April. It asks to save agriculture and save the nation. This would affect the situation even more. The politicians in the capital believe it does not matter what happens; the decision as to who will establish a government at the capital is

between the Congress (I) and the BJP. Both parties are planning for these elections with military efficiency. When will the bugle of war be played, and under what circumstances, only time will tell.

Once again, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi had to come out of her 10 Janpath residence and participate in the international parliamentary conference. She was seen in the central pavilion of the Parliament and at the tea party arranged by the president in honor of the visiting parliamentarians. President Dr. Shankar especially insisted on her coming, and Sonia Gandhi could not say no to him. She arrived early at the Mogul Gardens and charmed the legislators from Italy, Japan, Canada, and other countries with her presence.

It was surprising how Sonia Gandhi, who has always avoided being photographed from the very beginning, was showing great interest in being photographed with foreign legislators. Sonia Gandhi's coming out of 10 Janpath and participating in such ceremonies is a surprising development for the top Congress (I) leaders. It appears that they are also concerned that Sonia Gandhi might give moral support to the dissatisfied group of Congress (I) and use Rajiv Gandhi's ideas as a facade.

All kinds of reactions are being expressed about the effects the Jharkhand campaign will have in the future. It appears that P.V. Narasimha Rao's silence has become a subject of criticism for his two top-level cabinet members, Mr. S.V. Chavan and Rajesh Pilot. Former central cabinet member Subodh Kant Sahayak said that the tribals are losing their patience, and could create a situation like Punjab and Kashmir by starting violent incidents. Mr. Sahayak also said that, if the Central Government does not take some concrete steps to resolve the situation, the aborigines there could demolish development centers, factories, electricity generating plants, and mines. The leaders of the Jharkhand campaign have expressed their anger at the Central home minister and the minister of state for defense, and have rejected the Central Government's condition that they must end their strike. They have given an open warning that their campaign will continue until their demand for a separate Jharkhand state is accepted. Recently, the leaders who started the campaign for a separate Jharkhand state—Subodh Kant Sahaya, Gyan Ranjan, and Sarfraz Ahmed—said that the economic strikes will badly affect the production of iron, coal, and aluminum. This is true; however, it is hard to accept the accusation that these leaders have levied that the incidents of atrocities and rapes committed by the security forces against aborigine women are being swept under the rug. It was also said that S.V. Chavan and Rajesh Pilot are unable to make a clear decision on the situation because of their own mutual distrust. In this context, it was learned that Lalu Prasad Yadav, chief minister of Bihar, recently met with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and told him that the home ministry was trying to resolve the Jharkhand issue by keeping him out of the picture. Meanwhile, some BJP politicians allege that the Central Government is keeping them out of the Jharkhand issue,

even though the BJP is considered the strongest party in the aborigine region. It was the BJP that raised the demand that the aborigines have a separate state.

#### **Rao Efforts To Retain Congress Party Leadership Viewed**

93AS0851A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
1 May 93 p 4

[Article by Shambhunath Singh: "What Will the Sacrificial Lamb Do Now"]

[Text] At last Narasimha Rao has infused renewed interest in the dwindling Congress political scene by suspending the dissatisfied faction of the Congress. This long awaited suspension, in a way had become a certainty after the Surajkund convention and the people conversant in Rao's way of manipulation were convinced that Arjun Singh, the leader of the dissatisfied faction, would not be removed in the first phase. By retaining Arjun Singh within the Party, retaliation is in place to make him spineless. Retaliation because Arjun Singh was planning to take advantage of Rao's mistakes by staying with the Party and developing himself as a center of power. This policy resulted in partial success too. Arjun Singh's success cannot be, however, attributed to the policy elements he had selected before confrontation had any widespread acceptance. A widespread acceptance in the Congress is based on power alone and not on policy matters. Arjun Singh was himself playing with the policy issues only to acquire power, but in his play the non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] opposition was also a partner. That is why these issues could surface with such a vigor. In the wake of this effectiveness several surrounded Arjun Singh in the belief that Arjun Singh was the one to lead the future Congress politics. This was the polarization of the power play which now stands bloody and injured in the face of the realities.

The sacrificed dissatisfied faction, in the face of political realities and the prospect of confrontation, had known the maximum perils their actions can bestow upon them. But they also had a ray of hope that whatever disciplinary action would be taken against them would happen only after the elections for the dissolved legislative assemblies. The substantiating theory for such thought was that the main encounter in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himanchal Pradesh will be between the Congress and the BJP, and that Narasimha Rao cannot take the risk of sending wrong signals to the Muslim voters by taking disciplinary action against the Arjun group engaged in repressing the communalism in the Congress Party. The Arjun group was also under the impression that the credit for the Congress Party's showing a strong position, if that happens, in the legislative assembly elections in northern India will not go to Narasimha Rao, and this will make it easy to deduce that people have not yet lost faith in the Congress Party's secular policies. Therefore, if the Party can be freed from the uncertain and questionable leadership of Rao, then a

sharp and secular leader like Arjun Singh can restore its national image and assertiveness. On the contrary, if the Congress fares well below expectations in these elections, Narasimha Rao can be easily blamed for the poor showing, and it can be argued that a similar fate awaits the Party during the forthcoming national elections. It appears that Narasimha Rao is busy caring for his next life while the Party perishes. This propaganda can also be used to scare Rao's followers because it is a popular Congress tradition that a leader who cannot maintain the Party power loses all support. Thus, the Arjun group feels that they carry victory in both their hands, which they could cash in after the legislative assembly elections. The dissatisfied faction appears very satisfied with this strategy.

But Narasimha Rao turned out to be their guru and adopted a retaliatory strategy of pounding the snake unconscious with a stick and awaiting for it to gain consciousness. He kicked the roaring paper tigers out of the Party and in not saying anything to their leader Arjun Singh, sent him a message that he has not yet closed all doors to the secular policies, but at the same time he will not tolerate those who will try to dissolve the Party in the name of secularism. Narasimha Rao is observing these elections from his point of view and is treating the results as a yardstick not for himself but for Arjun Singh. He very well knows that no "Arjun" can avert the Party defeat in these elections. But Arjun Singh's presence in the Congress, up until the elections are over, is essential to prove the non-circumstantiality of the Arjun line of thought. And also to let Narasimha Rao successfully explain to the Congresses that the Congress can prevail over the BJP only in a way that Indira Gandhi used over Jammu in the eighties, or Rajiv Gandhi tried after 1984. The present Congress belongs to Rao and not to Nehru. The Nehru era was totally different from the present day. Political values then had some importance. Nearly all parties had an abundance of leaders from the revolutionary days and they had their own ideals. It was, therefore, that Nehru had retained leftist, rightist, socialist, Gandhi-ites, and all sorts of leaders in the Congress so that he could use them for the good of the Congress whenever needed.

The present day challenges before Narasimha Rao are unlike those in the Nehru days. But Narasimha Rao is engaging in Nehru-like techniques. In other words he is trying to cure poison with poison. In politics it means that, if you have to encounter a leftist, then face him as a vigorous leftist, and if you are up against a rightist, then act as a doubly robust rightist. Since, in Nehru days the challenges were varied, so was the ammunition in the Congress, but the biggest political challenge Narasimha Rao faces is from the BJP. Why should it matter then if he is not attentive to secularism, socialism, and democratic objectives? It is befitting the main traditions of the Congress Party. In this aspect Narasimha Rao is the true inheritor of the legacy of the Nehru, Indira, and Rajiv eras. Arjun Singh is talking against this inheritance, and as a matter of fact, in so doing he is revoking the ideals

of Nehru, Indira, and Rajiv. He does not realize that he is uttering non-Congressee language. Is it not, therefore, that his utterances are having a noticeable impact outside the Congress, whereas, they should impact the Party inside?

In spite of conversing in non-Congressee language he is unable to distance himself from the Congress culture. The Congress culture implies that one should always applaud all Party decisions, right or wrong. In the Congress no leader was ever granted the freedom of opposing the Party decisions. Even Nehru had great difficulty in accepting a non-conforming opinion. What then is the benefit of abusing Narasimha Rao? Today, at a time when democratic principles are giving way in almost all parties, how fruitful can it be to hope that the Congress Party will try to check this dying practice. It is to be noted that it was the Congress Party that first ignored the opposing views. Arjun Singh is an old member of the Congress and he also claims that he has not come to the Party disillusioned from elsewhere; he should, therefore, have some understanding of the Congress traditions. If such is not true, then it is doubtful that he indeed is a Congressman, and if it is true, then his assertion that the Party would not have reached this decayed condition if it had applied the amount of effort it is applying in clipping his wings to fight the communal feelings, is meaningless.

Arjun Singh is encountering repeated defeats within the Party in his opposition to the leadership. These shameless constant defeats have now made his followers nervous. They feel that Arjun Singh's political future in the Party is vanishing in the dark. In spite of all this Arjun Singh's continued affiliation with the Party is a surprise. This is the litmus test of his political career, and any weakening at this time will result in his political demise. But Arjun Singh is not going to fade away; he will not even break because he knows how to adjust. This is a specialty of his political maneuvering. He walks boldly straight ahead where the way is clear, but when the going becomes tough he bows down and completes the journey. His silence at the suspension of the discontented group from the Party is proof of such affinity. He also displayed proof of this tendency during the Surajkund convention. Perhaps he would like to keep himself aloof from any controversy in the future, until a time when he visualizes positive gains. But doubts persist regarding the political solidarity of a leader who adopts such a selfish and opportunist approach. Who would not tremble at the very thought of being with such a person? And who would not suspect his intentions of ditching anyone at any time. The inducements he offered to the members of the suspended group, and the promises he make to them will always remain shrouded in secrecy. The suspended legislators must be pondering if they were sacrificed by Arjun Singh for his own political interests. In any case, if Arjun Singh plans to stay in politics he will have to get rid of such negative opinions about him.

The active status of the dissatisfied faction's membership was suspended for a period of five years with a

condition that they can continue to call themselves Congresses. Such a disgraceful condition, however, has no meaning in itself because, technically, they have not been suspended from the Party. Also they are free to wait and take advantage of any internal changes that may be forced within the Party due to political pressures. After all their leader is still in the Party and continues to assure them of his support. Betraying the Party and joining the labyrinth of the opposition will not be of any interest to either Arjun Singh or his suspended group. Arjun Singh does not have the brilliance of Vishavnath Pratap Singh nor the honesty and smartness of Chandra Sekhar, and above all he lacks self-confidence. At a time when Chandra Sekhar challenged the leadership of Indira Gandhi or when Vishavnath Pratap Singh challenged Rajiv Gandhi, Indira and Rajiv were many times more powerful than Narasimha Rao of today.

In any case, Arjun Singh would not want to be the "Bhondsi Baba" [Chandra Sekhar] of Indian politics. Perhaps to become such is also not that easy. Chandra Sekhar has an obstinacy in his personality which is the result of combined fundamental stubbornness and feudalistic traditions. At the time of the formation of the Janata Party government it was because of his stubbornness that he opted to work as a party organizer and not in the government. This was the pinnacle of his ideology. But the person who seemed to be so separated from the power was able to devour it in fifteen years—he dared to become the prime minister of India in a Parliament of 525 legislators with the help of only three dozen. This decision may have been inspired by any reaction but this was the lowest point of his political career. Arjun Singh does not have any such tidal record; instead he has a decisive pattern of convenient politics. He could not even provide simple protection to his political allies; whereas, Chandra Sekhar fully safeguarded his followers and defended his action even at the risk of earning a bad reputation. This is not something for which Chandra Sekhar deserves applause, but his personality has some

sparks which at last turned into ashes. On the contrary, Arjun Singh has a heap of ashes only with which he is trying to create a fallacy that his sparks are hidden under that heap.

Arjun Singh cannot be compared with Vishavnath Pratap Singh [VP] either, because he does not come close to VP's personality or politics. In spite of all the prevailing controversies, VP is still one of the few national leaders against whom there are no allegations of corruption. Arjun Singh cannot claim any such immunity. At the time when VP left the Congress, he had undertaken to eradicate corruption from the political and social life of the country. This determination had an electrifying effect on the Indian society because this was our most sensitive nerve. Unlike "mandal" it had no controversy, it was a non-controversial issue, and no leader or party had initiated any plan of action even if nobody had any illusions about it. Therefore VP obtained the grassroots support on this issue, and he became the synonym of anti-corruption actions. Arjun Singh has raised the issue of secularism. The problem with this issue is that it has been experimented with by so many parties that it has lost its significance. And secondly, Arjun Singh does not have a copyright on this issue. Many other politicians have used this issue in their politics, and even today the opposition leaders are actively pursuing this issue. The main thing to note is that Arjun Singh is the only one pursuing this issue within the Congress so actively. Therefore, if Arjun Singh and his suspended followers consider themselves to be politically powerful and if they feel that by leaving the Congress, they can make greater waves against Narasimha Rao than caused by Vishavnath Pratap Singh in his nationwide appearances on the issue of corruption against Rajiv Gandhi, then it will be better for them to stay within the Congress and to try to bring the political change from within. In so doing they will be able to resist the Congress Party in becoming another Bharatiya Janata Party and a country on the verge of being sacrificed will be grateful to them.

**ONGC Official Tells Oil Production Plans***93AS0800 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
22 Mar 93 p 5*

[Text] The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) is all set to reverse the declining trend in crude production witnessed during the last three years, reports UNI.

It expects a marginal increase next year over the current year's output which touched a new low in recent years.

The Commission's crude production this year is estimated at 24.318 million tonnes. It may rise marginally to 24.42 million tonnes during 1993-94, according to ONGC chairman S.K. Manglik.

"We will maintain the current year's production level and attempt a marginal increase during next year and arrest the declining trend," Mr Manglik told UNI.

Though no new oil field is expected to commence production during 1993-94, increase in output is possible because of various measures taken by the Commission to step up production in the existing oil fields, Mr Manglik said.

Mr Manglik said the crude production is, however, expected to look up in the subsequent years as the Commission's three major projects in the Bombay offshore region-Neelam, L-II and L-III are to go on stream during 1994-95. These projects are expected to produce around nine million tonnes during 1994-95.

The Gandhar project on Gujarat onshore is likely to be fully developed in the next two years and is expected to contribute about three million tonnes.

Production is also expected from Panna (Bombay offshore), Ravva Krishna, Godavari and Mukta oil fields by 1995. The development of these oil fields has been going on under a production sharing agreement through joint ventures in view of the resource crunch faced by the Government.

Mr Manglik said resource crunch and indecisiveness of the previous governments had led to the inordinate delay in implementing the Neelam project. The project which could yield around 4.5 million tonnes of crude per annum should have been commissioned during 1993 as per the original schedule. The Commission has invested a sum of over Rs two thousand crore in this project.

Another major reason for the decline in oil production was that four of the oil fields in Bombay High, from where a major portion of the country's oil output is extracted, were producing less after reaching a plateau. Bombay High which has been accounting for 65 per cent of the oil production, has been on the decline from reaching a peak of 21 million tonnes in 1989-90. Production from this oil field has dropped to nearly 14 million tonnes during the current year.

The oilfields in the Bombay High have yielded around 200 million tonnes since they commenced production in May 1976.

Oil industry sources said that while the ONGC has intensified efforts to develop new oil fields in Asam and North East, Oil India, another major oil producer has commenced development drilling for oil in Bikaner and Nagaur regions of Rajasthan.

On participation of private sector companies including the foreign firms in development of oil reserves, the sources said the country faced a stiff competition from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) of the erstwhile Soviet Union, eastern Europe and Southeast Asian countries especially Thailand.

The CIS countries, especially the Siberian region which is virtually sitting on oil offered a bright spot for the international oil firms. They are increasingly diverting their operations to this area in view of the attractive production sharing agreements offered by these countries.

The sources said in an attempt to attract private capital the Government had commenced bidding from these firms for participation in exploration and development of oil regions in the country. As many as 24 bids were received under the fourth round for exploration and development of 13 blocks.

Production sharing contracts have been signed since then for six blocks and two more are expected to be concluded shortly.

**Congress (I) Committee Economic Resolution Excerpts***93AS0835 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
28 Mar 93 p 5*

[Text] The economic resolution of the All India Congress Committee [AICC], which began its two-day session at Surajkund in Haryana, on Saturday asked the Government to launch an "employment-for-all-by-2000" campaign at the earliest to, what it says, banish unemployment.

And for this, it wants the Government to push up its major and medium term planning and economic activities and also direct the Planning Commission to initiate a national debate to present a concrete strategy.

The draft resolution, which has the stamp of approval from the Working Committee, says that industrialists, managers, trade unions, farmers, youth, women and scientists and technologists should be involved in the national debate.

The economic resolution gave its wholehearted support to the Narasimha Rao Government's economic reforms plan.



UNI adds:

"The AICC is happy to note that economic reforms are well under way and the prophets of doom have been proved false," the draft resolution says.

Excerpts of the Resolution:

The immediate task before the Congress Government was to stabilise the Balance of Payments position and restore India's credibility in the world. Bold steps were taken to shore up the country's foreign exchange reserves and as a result the reserves rose from \$1.1 billion in June, 1991 to \$5.6 billion by the end of March 1992.

At the same time, a major programme of economic reforms and structural adjustment was put through to encourage a spirit of enterprise and competitiveness in the country and prepare the economy to face global competition.

Another plank of the structural adjustment programme was to achieve a reasonable measure of macroeconomic stability in terms of the Government's fiscal deficit. These policies have been reflected in the budgets presented by the Government during the past three years.

The AICC fully supports these policies of economic reform and structural adjustment, which have already shown commendable results. The fiscal deficit was brought down from 8.4 per cent of GDP [Gross Domestic Product] in 1990-91 to 6.5 per cent in 1991-92 and further down to five per cent in 1992-93. For 1993-94 the projected deficit is still lower.

The reduction in the fiscal deficit has helped to soften the inflation rate, which came down from 17 per cent at the end of August 1991 to 6.8 per cent in this last week of March 1993. The reduction in the fiscal deficit has also prevented the Balance of Payments position from deteriorating further.

Unfortunately, just at a time when the economic outlook has begun to brighten there have been nefarious attempts by fissiparous forces to destabilise the polity and strike terror in some parts of the country. These irresponsible and inhuman acts have not only resulted in an enormous loss of precious lives but these are also fraught with serious consequences for the economy as a whole.

The AICC calls upon the people to defeat such attempts with all the strength at their command so that the task of socio-economic reconstruction can be pursued vigorously in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

#### EMPHASIS ON EXPORTS

The AICC lays emphasis on the need to attain a higher level of exports (including invisible exports) as well as effective import substitution (especially in respect of bulk imports like petroleum, fertilisers and edible oils) to achieve long-term stability in the Balance of Payments position.

While the two-stage unification of the rupee exchange rate and the fiscal reliefs offered in the 1993-94 Budget are expected to boost production and exports, the AICC recommends the formulation of a national plan of action in close association with farmers and industry and trade interests to achieve higher exports and effective import substitution during the remaining eighth Plan period. Our farmers are making special efforts in the field of edible oils and expect to make the country self-sufficient in edible oils, thus effecting huge foreign exchange savings.

#### FOREIGN CAPITAL

First even if India attracts one billion dollar foreign investment in the current year, this will be just about three per cent of the gross domestic investment in manufacturing, construction, power and transport and communication sectors.

Indeed, in the foreseeable future, if we succeed in attracting two to three billion dollars of foreign investment per annum, this will be less than five per cent of domestic investment in secondary and tertiary sectors and less than two per cent in the economy as a whole.

Surely, this cannot harm our self-reliance. If we look around us, countries which are receiving foreign investment on a much larger scale have not lost their self-reliance. These include not only Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Mexico but also China and Vietnam. Foreign capital is adding to the strength of these economies.

Foreign capital like any other investment means more jobs and incomes. In fact, foreign capital prefers destinations which are vibrant and growing. That is why over two-thirds of all foreign investment flows into advanced countries. By this yardstick, all advanced countries should have lost their self-reliance long ago.

It is plain that foreign investment flows are ordinarily motivated by the urge to relocate production to reap cost advantages in this competitive world, rather than by the urge for political domination. In today's world economic scene, foreign investment has become a major exporter without being part of the global production network. Therefore, if India wishes to become a trading nation of consequence, it must seek the strategic advantage offered by foreign investment in the global economy.

The concept of self-reliance needs to be refined in today's context. In the fifties, industry in India was very weak and could not compete with imports, as colonial domination had discriminated against Indian manufactures. Today the industry must become efficient and competitive in global markets.

#### DOUBTS ALLAYED

Doubts have been raised that liberalisation, multinationals and foreign technologies will hurt Indian industry, particularly, small-scale and cottage industry and thus increase unemployment. The impact of new economic policies will be just the opposite.

First, by forcing Indian industry to become more cost-efficient and competitive, reforms will make Indian industry to become more cost-efficient and competitive, reforms will make Indian industry more labour intensive as labour is cheaper than capital.

Secondly, export orientation means faster growth of labour-intensive industries as it is in these areas that India is most competitive.

Third, by imparting a big push to both investment and growth, new policies will generate more jobs.

Fourth, small-scale industry will benefit in an environment of high growth, with modernised technical back-up and will grow even faster. All the more so as preferential treatment for the small and cottage sector will continue.

Fifth, the new policies will pump more resources into rural areas and tackle the problem of unemployment where it is most pronounced.

Reduction in the fiscal deficit is making the budget more viable and thus releasing more resources for investment in agriculture, rural infrastructure, poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes as is evident from this year's budget proposals.

In fact, the role of the State is being redefined. The State will withdraw from areas where the private sector has sufficient capability, and focus more on employment creation and welfare spending.

Sixth, reduction in customs tariffs will stop the transfer of resources from rural areas to industry and thus catalyse investment and employment in agriculture.

Seventh, the Government's emphasis on food processing and agro-business consortia for small farmers will generate more jobs through fiscal industrialisation.

A vibrant and growing economy needs a modern, transparent, efficient and well-functioning financial system.

The securities scam of 1991 revealed basic systemic deficiencies and this has added an urgency to the need for financial sector reform.

#### REFORM IN BANKING SYSTEM

A number of initiatives have already been taken for reform of the banking system. New accounting norms have been introduced in accordance with internationally accepted practices. This will ensure that the books of the banks accurately reflect their financial health.

The AICC calls upon the Government to ensure that financial sector reforms are rapidly implemented and defined where necessary so that the weaknesses revealed in the scam are effectively tackled and prevent, as far as humanly possible, the recurrence of such a scam.

This will entail strengthening supervision and revamping internal audit systems in the banks.

The government has also introduced new standards of capital adequacy in line with international practice. The deterioration in the quality of the portfolios of the banks and the relatively high incidence of non-performing loans has already eroded their capital base. With the new capital adequacy norms now being introduced a fresh dose of capital needs to be injected.

The AICC welcomes the Government's decision to mobilise additional capital for the banks from the capital markets to strengthen the capital base of the public sector banks while maintaining a majority holding.

#### MOVE ON SEBI HAILED

The AICC welcomes the Government's decision to amend the Securities and Exchange Board of India [SEBI] Act to give SEBI additional powers to increase its effectiveness. The AICC regards the capital market as an important element in the strategy of development financing, and it should be our objective to achieve a well functioning capital market which compares with best practices elsewhere.

This session of the All-India Congress Committee places before the country the lofty goal of banishing unemployment in the country by year 2000. It urges the Government to direct the Planning Commission to present a concrete strategy for national debate at the earliest. Such a debate should involve industrialists, managers, trade unions, farmers, youth, women and leaders in science and technology. The AICC urges that the "employment-for-all-by-2000" plan should be launched at the earliest so that the energies and resources at our disposal are harnessed for the fulfillment of the exhilarating goal.

The AICC stresses the need to give the highest priority to development of infrastructure sectors, namely energy, transport and communications, to further boost economic growth.

#### ENERGY POLICY

A suitable energy policy to optimise the use of various energy sources should also be drawn up.

In spite of the liberalised industrial and trade policies, the role of the Government in socioeconomic development, particularly in infrastructure sectors, will remain an important one.

The States and Union Territories form an integral part of the federal structure of our great country. As such, an equal responsibility devolves on the governments of the States and Union Territories to reorient their policies and administrative setup to make a success of the socio-economic development programmes.

#### RESTRUCTURING OF PSUs

Considering the vital importance of the public sector in our economy both in terms of public investment and areas of operation, the AICC feels that along with the financial restructuring of the PSUs through partial

disinvestment of Government equity, concrete steps should be taken to streamline their management and operations to achieve higher efficiency, productivity and profitability.

The assets of the PSUs should be revealed at current market rates and the funds available from disinvestment of part of the Government equity should be used for their modernisation and diversification as well as for infrastructural development.

### INVESTMENTS LACKING

Although India has a vast reservoir of technical manpower, investments in technology development are inadequate. Necessary fiscal incentives should be made available for promoting R and D. Universities and research laboratories should also provide R and D support to the productive sectors of the economy.

The AICC also congratulates the Government for coming out with an agricultural policy resolution.

### UPDATE LAND RECORD

The AICC urges the Government to take easily steps to computerise and update land records, which would result in registration of all tenancies, and recording of all mutations.

The AICC urges the Government to initiate a crash programme for building rural infrastructure in the poor and backward regions of the country.

One hundred and eight countries are participating in international trade agreement popularly known as Uruguay round of talks. India is a contracting party of GATT since its inception. Concerns have been expressed over certain formulations in the Dunkel text in respect of agriculture, services, intellectual proprieties right, investment related matters and textiles. This meeting AICC wants to re-affirm that nothing would be acceptable to the country which could compromise our overall national interests. AICC wants to reassure Indian farmers that their interests would be fully protected and their rights to use inputs of their choice and to access to latest R and D in the agricultural fields will not be affected.

### EVOLVE MINOR FORCES

Collection of minor forest constitutes a very important component of tribal economy. We recognise the inherent right of a tribal to collect minor forest produce from the forests for his own consumption and sell surplus in the open market.

There are nearly 39 lakh handlooms which employs in weaving and preparatory work over 3.2 million people. The recent historic order of Supreme Court of holding the validity of Handloom (Reservation of Articles for Production) Act by Supreme Court has paved way for

protecting the handloom from unauthorities encroachment by powerloom sector which has been going on large scale for the last six-seven years.

### World Bank Loan Balance for Narmada Refused

93AS0798 Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
31 Mar 93 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Washington, March 30—India today asked the World Bank to cancel the remaining balance of the loan for the Narmada dam project.

Of the \$450 millions sanctioned by the World Bank and the International Development Association [IDA], \$280 millions has been disbursed. As a result of the Indian decision conveyed to the Bank today, the bank will not give the remaining \$170 millions.

Ever since the Bradford Morse Commission raised questions about the environmental aspects of the dam, supporting some of the assessments of critics in India and environmentalists abroad, the project has been tangled in controversy here.

The World Bank Vice-President, Mr. Joseph Wood and the Director in Charge of India, Mr. Heinz Vergin, told press conference that this would not affect the Bank's relations with India on other projects.

However, on the Government of India's decision not to ask for further funding by the Bank for the dam, Mr. Vergin said: "It was apparent a few weeks ago that it was going to be a very difficult task to meet the benchmarks on the originally negotiated schedule (regarding resettlement and rehabilitation and land acquisition)."

Mr. Vergin said the whole project was estimated to cost \$3 billions against the remaining undisbursed World Bank loan of \$170 millions. He said some other projects negotiated between the Bank of India and other countries had been cancelled (without any impact upon an ongoing relationship).

The two officials said that in the wake of the Morse Commission report, the Bank's board in essence authorised continued Bank support for the Sardar Sarovar project on the basis of an action plan worked out with the Government of India and the three States involved. Specific benchmarks were developed to monitor progress expected through the end of March 1993.

Mr. Vergin said field reports from the staff had indicated full and continued commitment by the Indian authorities to the objectives of the action plan.

However, on several important tasks relating to the execution of resettlement and rehabilitation of the project-affected people, "their domestic difficulties, unrelated to the project, have made adherence to the previously envisaged time table difficult. In those cases, the Government has generally decided to uphold the

quality of the planning and consultation processes at the risk of not meeting the initially agreed deadlines."

Mr. Vergin said difficulties were encountered in the following areas: in Gujarat, there were some complications in the detailed survey of canal oustees linked to policy formulation and availability of the survey data. How much of a complication this had created, he could not assess at this time.

In Madhya Pradesh, supplementary surveys of tribal needs in the resettlement villages had also a late start. The Bank staff thought they had made up for lost time but "I am not clear to what extent they have been able to build the survey data into the ongoing revised resettlement planning."

On another front, "we had asked for improved institutional arrangements over the management of the resettlement and rehabilitation programmes, particularly providing a role for the local NGOs (non-governmental organisations). A new structure to that effect was established in late October/early November which had been functioning intermittently."

Another area on which Bank interest was focused was land acquisition for resettlement purposes. To what extent the Government had been able or is able to bridge the gap between policy formulation and as yet incomplete survey data remained to be seen.

Finally, there was insistence in the benchmarks on the formulation of comprehensive resettlement plans in all three States.

Mr. Vergin said the Bank had no reason to expect that if there was a cancellation of this loan (\$170 millions), there would be a dilution of the Government's commitment to resolve these problems."

#### No Extention Sought

The Bank officials said that at no point did New Delhi ask for extension of time to meet the benchmark requirements. In addition to the Sarovar project, the officials noted, the Bank had financed the first stage of the canal project. The amount involved was \$250 millions from the Bank and IDA.—PTI

Our Special Correspondent reports from Delhi:

With the Government's decision to forgo further World Bank assistance the project would now be completed with the country's own resources and implemented on schedule, an official release said.

The Bank support (estimated project cost Rs. 6,600 crores in 1987 and expected to cross Rs. 9,000 crores (now) was about \$530 millions for the canal, dam and the power component of the project. The agreement for this assistance was signed in May 1985 and the cumulative utilisation as of date worked out to \$350 millions.

The Government's decision was communicated to the Bank by Dr. Bimal Jalan, India's Executive Director on the board of World Bank. In his statement, Dr. Jalan said that "in view of the deep interest that this Board has taken in the project, I have been asked by my authorities to inform the Board of this decision. Dr. Jalan also informed the Bank of the continued commitment of the Indian Government to meet fully the rehabilitation, resettlement and environmental standards during the further implementation of the project as also in case of other similar projects.

Though official sources here were tightlipped about the Government's sudden decision to forgo the balance aid, it is learnt that the decision was taken solely by the Finance Ministry since the Environment Ministry reportedly expressed some unhappiness over the rehabilitation aspect of the affected persons.

#### Bailing Out Bank?

The World Bank too was coming under pressure from the environmentalist lobby, particularly after the Morse Committee criticised the environmental aspects of the project with special emphasis on the inadequate provision for rehabilitation of the affected persons. The Indian Government's decision could therefore be aimed at bailing out of the World Bank, from a tight spot.

The Environment Ministry, it is said, had asked for rescheduling of the project since it was not satisfied with the rehabilitation of the persons in the areas to be submerged. Since the process was slow, the Ministry had asked for a rescheduling of the project which in turn was creating problems for the release of funds from the World Bank.

In view of the differences within the Indian Government and because the quantum of outstanding assistance was not much, the Finance Ministry, it is said, decided to forgo the balance amount. Also, the fact that the foreign exchange position was comfortable at the moment, with reserves touching about \$6 billions might have facilitated the decision.

#### Schedule May Be Redrawn

PTI reports

The Union Water Resources Minister, Mr. V.C. Shukla said the Government's decision would not stop work on the project but it might take a little longer. The schedule would be redrawn if necessary.

He, however, made it clear that the decision to implement the project through internal resources would not have any effect on the entire Narmada Valley projects.

The decision was taken following complete unanimity among the four participating States.

### More Detail on Changes in Import-Export Policy

93AS0803 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
1 Apr 93 p 12

[Text] New Delhi, March 31—The following are changes in the new Ex-im policy announced by the Union Commerce Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, on March 31.

In the revised policy, special attention is being paid to the growth of exports in the agriculture and allied sectors. It has been decided that units engaged in agriculture, aquaculture, animal husbandry, floriculture, horticulture, pisciculture, poultry and sericulture, can avail themselves of the benefits of duty free imports under the EOU/EPZ [expansion not given] scheme even if they export 50 per cent of their production, they can sell the remaining 50 per cent in the domestic market as against the limit of 25 per cent permitted for the non-agricultural sector.

The definition of "capital goods" has also been widened to cover capital goods used in agriculture and allied activities so that units engaged in this sector can avail themselves of the Export Promotion Capital Goods scheme for importing their equipment at a concessional rate of duty.

Furthermore, certain inputs and materials required by the agricultural sector, such as prawn, shrimp and poultry feed, edible wax for waxing fresh fruits and vegetables, grape guard paper, dipping oil for treatment of grapes, wheat gluten, fish meal in powdered form and grand parent stock (poultry) are being removed from the Negative List of Imports so that they are freely importable.

In order to tap the potential of the services sector, a new scheme, called the "Export Promotion Capital Goods Scheme for the Services Sector" has been introduced. Under the scheme, capital equipment at a concessional rate of duty of 15 per cent may be imported by those who render professional services such as architects, artists, chartered accountants, consultants, doctors, economists, engineers, journalists, lawyers and scientists. The scheme is also open to other services such as hotels and restaurants, travel agents, tour operators and diagnostic centres. The export obligation to be achieved by them will be in the form of the foreign exchange earned by them, regardless of whether the services are rendered in India or abroad.

In the case of the existing Export Promotion Capital goods (EPCG) scheme applicable to the other sectors, the window of import of capital goods at the concessional rate of customs duty of 15 per cent is only being kept open and the other window of import at 25 per cent duty is being deleted in view of the general lowering of customs duties in the Budget of 1993-94. There is representation from the trade and industry that the advantage of the EPCG scheme has been eroded with the reduction in the normal customs duties on capital goods.

In order to provide certain flexibility in the scheme, in the case of capital intensive projects or projects involving sophisticated technology, alternatives are being worked out and detailed guidelines in this behalf will be announced shortly. Further, the requirements relating to the provision of bank guarantee by the importer have been liberalised and the procedures simplified in order to reduce the cost to the importer in furnishing bank guarantee.

A total of 144 items have been removed from the Negative List of Exports. In respect of those items which have been excluded from the Negative List, but in respect of which it is necessary to attach certain terms and conditions on the exports like the minimum export price and the like, a separate public notice is being issued specifying those terms and conditions, but no export licence will be required for their exports.

The criterion for recognition of export houses, trading houses, star trading houses will henceforth be based on their "FOB value of physical exports" (instead of net foreign exchange [NFE] earnings). The quantum of FOB value of exports has been adjusted suitably. As a consequence, the scheme for special import licences for these houses as well as for the electronic sector will also be based on the FOB value of physical exports instead of the NFE.

Under the EOU/EPZ scheme, the export obligation to be achieved by the units is subject to the prescribed value addition. In order to encourage the use of indigenous inputs by such units, the formula of value added has been revised so as to exclude the value of indigenous inputs from the computation of value addition. The new formula also provides a special dispensation for capital intensive units.

Under the duty exemption scheme, both the quantity based advance licences and the value based advance licences are being continued. In order to expedite the grant of licences under the scheme, standard input-output and value addition norms have now been published for over 2,200 items. Efforts would continue to be made during the course of the year to increase substantially the number of items covered by standard input-output norms. In the light of the experience gained in the operation of the value based advance licensing scheme, it has been decided that both the quantity and FOB value of the exports specified in the licence shall have to be achieved by the licence holder in order to minimise the possibility of the misuse of such licences. The mechanism for monitoring the achievement of the export obligation by duty free licence holders is also being strengthened.

Exporters who have completed their exports and have realised the export proceeds before the introduction of the full convertibility are in a disadvantageous position in case they have not completed their imports under the duty free licences before March 1, 1993. In order to remove this disadvantage, it has been decided that they

will be given a cash amount equivalent to eight per cent of their unutilised import licences. In the case of exporters who have completed their exports before March 1, 1992 and who have not exchanged their REP/Exim scrips before February 27, 1993, they will be given a further opportunity to surrender the Exim scrips and to receive the premium of 20 per cent on them. The details in respect of both these measures are being worked out in consultation with the RBI [Reserve Bank of India].

In order to involve the State Governments in the export effort, a Centrally sponsored scheme for assisting them in the establishment of industrial parks, with high standards of infrastructural facilities, is being formulated.

### Export Items Removed From Negative List

93AS0808 Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
2 Apr 93 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, April 1—List of items deleted from the Negative List of Exports as per new Exim policy announced on March 31:

#### Licensable List:

##### Items:

Beryl including gem variety of beryl; bone meal; coconut and copra, excluding decorticated coconut whole, coconut protein, coconut honey, coconut flour and desiccated coconut; creosote oil (light and heavy) coaltar and mixtures containing coaltar; chloroquine phosphate, including formulations manufactured from chloroquine phosphate; diosgenin and dioscorea roots; expellere cakes all varieties, including groundnut oil cake but excluding cotton seed expeller cakes; fish meal with less than 50 per cent protein content; hand spun silk yarn; kuth (costus lappa syn; saussurea lappa CB C1-Asteraceae) contained from the wild; wild orchids; mulberry pierced cocoons; naphthalene; also resins ex-pinus longifolia; paraffin wax, excluding type III; pig iron, pure silk yarn including silk noil yarn; rough (uncut and unset) precious stones and rock crystal quartz; rock phosphate; raw silk; uncrushed bones other than fish bones; military stores; donkeys; ferrous scrap, excluding mill scale scrap.

##### Sub-items:

Radium and its compounds; iridium, iridosmine and osmiridium; selenium; rare earth metals; scandium and yttrium (whether or not interleaved or interalloyed/mixed); oxide and peroxide of strontium; lithium oxide and hydroxide; perchlorate of sodium; chromium; germanium; gallium; indium; rhenium; thallium; radium ores and concentrates; vanadium ores and concentrates; vanadium bearing iron ore containing  $V_2O_5$  exceeding 0.2 per cent; tungsten (wolfram) ores and concentrates; andalusite; kyanite all grades; all types of sillimanite (except granular sillimanite); calcined magnesite with silica content below 7.5 per cent and dead

burnt magnesite; chrysotile, crocidolite and amosite varieties of asbestos of all sizes and grades; raw magnesite and fused magnesite; silk tops; silk waste; mules; sunflower seeds.

#### Ceiling List:

##### Items:

Brown sea weeds and agarophytes excluding *G edulis* of Tamil Nadu coast origin in processed form; cotton seed expeller cakes; culled live sheep and goat (adult); calcined magnesite with silica contents of 7.5 per cent and above; corundum other than sapphires and rubies; handicrafts and articles made of peacock tail feathers; natural rubber of RMA IV or equivalent grade; pyrophyllite; safflower seed (kardi seed); wheat straw (hay).

#### Canalised List:

##### Items: Gum resin.

##### Sub-items:

Iron ore concentrate prepared by beneficiation and/or concentration of low grade ore containing 40 per cent or less of iron produced by Kudremukh Iron Ore Company; iron ore pellets manufactured by KIOCL out of concentrates produced by it.

#### Conditional List:

##### Items:

All seeds of trees, hedges, ornamental plants, flowers and *gloriosa superba* (fillicese); vegetable seeds other than onion seeds; aircrafts; spares and accessories thereof including those for repair/overhaul on returnable basis by both Indian and foreign airlines; all cultivated varieties of orchids; basmati rice; black pepper (asta quality MG-1; carbonised lignite briquettes (Leco).

Chloroquine phosphate, formulations manufactured out of imported bulk drug (chloroquine phosphate); coir and coir products; cotton yarn including tyre cord yarn (amended); deoiled groundnut cake (extraction); deoiled rice bran (rice bran extraction); flue-cured virginia tobacco, sun-cured virginia tobacco, natu (country) tobacco and uncured jutti tobacco.

Finished leathers, all kinds; gaur gum splits; hand-made woollen/synthetic/silk carpets including other floor covering like woollen durries, druggets, chain stitched rugs, needle point rugs; gabbas and namdhas; HPS groundnuts (both in shell and kernels); kuth (costus lappa syn. Saussurea lappa CB C1 Asteraceae) cultivated in private lands and derivatives except wild varieties.

Laterite; lamb fur skin; low grade bauxite with alumina content  $Al_2O_3$  below 54 per cent of west coast origin; metallurgical residues that is drosses skimming slags, ashes, slims, and flue dust (other than those of gold and silver) containing less than 15 per cent of free metal content;

Mulberry X dupion fabrics (100 per cent natural silk); Meghalaya coal; onions as a part of assorted vegetables; processed pulses made only out of the pulses imported under the Duty Exemption Scheme or by an approved export oriented unit/unit in the EPZ; plants, plant portions and derivatives, obtained from the wild; sesame seeds; silk goods excluding silk carpets; soft cotton waste/hand cotton waste; solvent extracted cotton seed cakes (decorticated/undecorticated); soyabean extraction; sugar; shellac and all forms of lac except those specified in Part II of this chapter.

Export of certain textile products of cotton, wool and man-made fibres and blends which are subject to MOUs/agreements between India or Austria or Canada or EEC of Finland or Norway or Sweden or the U.S.; processed timber of all species excluding sandalwood and red sanders wood; samples; samples of goods included in Parts II, III, IV and V of the Negative List of Exports; Exhibits; Exhibits of goods included in Parts II, III, IV and V of the Negative List of Exports.

#### Sub-items:

Arms and ammunition namely muzzle loading weapons and breach loading or bolt action weapons such as shot guns, revolvers, pistols and their ammunition; replicas of antique weapons; cinchona mixed alkaloids and cinchona salts after extraction of quinine and quinidine and salts thereof; quinidine sulphate; quinine and quinine products.

Non-basmati rice; wheat, wheat products namely rawa, resultant atta, wheat bran; maida, suji and whole-meal atta (wheat flour of not less than 95 per cent extraction); barley; maize; bajra; jowar; ragi.

Handicrafts made out of sandal wood; machine finished sandalwood products namely visiting cards; blades for ladies hand fans; outer case and dials of watches; and any other product of similar nature meeting the above specification and value addition norms; handicrafts made out of sea-shells.

Meat of buffalo (both male and female) including heart, liver, lungs, brain, tongue, kidneys, offals and other organs; meat of Indian sheep including heart, liver, lungs, brain, tongue, kidneys and other organs; meat of Indian goat including heart, liver, lungs, brain, tongue, kidneys and other organs and processed mica including mica blocks, mica films and splittings, of all grades and varieties but excluding waste/factory cuttings and mica scrap; silvered mica capacitor plates, fabricated mica, mica flakes/powder; acetic anhydride; dilsopropylamine.

Bengal Deshi (raw cotton variety); assam cornillas (raw cotton variety); staple cotton (raw cotton variety); cotton decoloured by damage due to fire/water (raw cotton variety); zodo and sweepings (raw cotton variety); yellow pickings (raw cotton variety); others (raw cotton varieties).

Trichloro fluoro methane; dichloro diffuoro methane; 1.1.2 trichloro trifluoro methane; 1.2 dichloro tetrafluoro ethane; chloro pentafluoro ethane; bromo chloro diffuoro methane; bromo trifluoro methane; dibromo tetrafluoro ethane.

#### Bumper Wheat Harvest Assures Rise in Procurement

93AS0834 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
6 Apr 93 p 16

[Text] New Delhi, April 5 (UNI)—Wheat procurement in the current marketing season is expected to be ten million tonnes—about four million tonnes more than last year—thanks to a bumper wheat harvest of 56 million tonnes and enhanced support prices.

Procurement officials told visiting reporters in Chandigarh and Khanna (Punjab) that though the arrivals of wheat in the main mandis in the major wheat belt of Punjab and Haryana had been delayed because of unseasonal rains, the procurement process was expected to pick up momentum by the middle of this month.

The officials do not expect any repeat of last year's experience when farmers held on to the stocks in the hope of garnering better profits.

Wheat procurement this year has assumed vital importance in view of the low wheat stock position in the Central pool, despite the import of nearly three million tonnes of wheat last year.

According to the food ministry, the stocks of wheat in the Central pool as of April 1 is a lowly 2.7 million tonnes, which is almost one million tonnes less than the norms laid down under the buffer stocking policy.

Lower stocks of wheat are due to less procurement during 1991-92 and 1992-93 and increased allocations and off-take for the public distribution system (inclusive of additional allocations made for the revamped PDS) and open sale of wheat by the Food Corporation of India (FCI) to curb the price rise.

Mr Sudhir Mital and Mr R.K. Ranga, senior regional managers of the CCI in charge of Punjab and Haryana regions, respectively, told the reporters in Candigarh that apart from better crop prospects there were two main reasons for the optimism of the procurement agencies this season.

One, the minimum support price for wheat has been substantially hiked which will attract more farmers to sell their produce to the government procurement agencies. The procurement price of wheat has been fixed at Rs 330 per quintal (inclusive of incentive bonus of Rs 25 per quintal for the period from April 1, 1993, to June 30, 1993) for this year's rabi marketing season.

The effective increase allowed has been a record 22 per cent over the previous year in relative terms and Rs 55 per quintal in absolute terms.



The second main reason for the FCI officials' optimism is that the enhanced support price has substantially reduced the variations between the open market prices of wheat and the minimum support price.

The FCI, along with the states' procurement agencies, will be extending price and assurance by operating in about 9,500 mandis and purchase centres. The price support activities will be extended in Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

In order to ensure that the farmers do not resort to any distress sale, the FCI has undertaken a rural communication programme, the officials said.

The focus of this exercise is to educate wheat growers through the mass media about the arrangements made by the FCI and other state agencies in the wheat producing states.

FCI's technical personnel have already positioned themselves to purchase wheat brought to the mandis by the farmers. According to Mr Mital, financial arrangements have been tied up with the banking sector to ensure that farmers get the payment within 48 hours.

According to official figures, the wheat procurement has been steadily declining since 1990-91, though the production has registered corresponding increase.

FCI officials said the growing tendency among the farmers had been to hold on to the stocks and sell in open markets for higher profits.

In 1990-91 the FCI and other government agencies procured 11.5 million tonnes out of the total production of 49.8 million tonnes. The corresponding figures for 1991-92 was 7.7 million tonnes procurement out of the production of 55 million tonnes and for 1992-93 6.3 million tonnes (procurement) and 55 million (production).

Mr Mital said there had been no impact of terrorism on food production or procurement in Punjab. Though terrorists had kidnapped several FCI officials some years ago, the ultras received the flak from the public and the farmers' community alike and the trend did not catch on.

Moreover, top FCI officials let it be known to terrorists that they will be winding up their operations in the state if their officials were targeted. "Since a vast majority of the extremists are from farmers' families, better sense prevailed," Mr Mital said.

## Reserve Bank Announces New Monetary Policy

93AS0830 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
8 Apr 93 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bombay, April 7—Dr. C. Rangarajan, the RBI [Reserve Bank of India] Governor, announced the monetary policy for the first half of 1993-94 at a meeting he had with the chief executives of major scheduled commercial banks.

He told press persons here that in the context of the need for continued progress with the financial sector reform, the reduction in the gross fiscal deficit of the Central Government and the moderation in the inflation rate, it had been decided to reduce further the Statutory Liquidity Ratio (SLR). Accordingly, the SLR to be maintained by scheduled commercial banks, (excluding Regional rural Banks) up to the level of outstanding net demand and have liabilities (excluding non-resident liabilities) as on April 3, 1992 would be reduced from 37.75 per cent to 36.75 per cent in four phases of 0.25 percentage point each as set out below.

Phasing of SLR reduction for scheduled commercial Banks (excluding regional rural banks)

SLR on net demand and time liabilities (excluding non-resident liabilities) outstanding as on April 3, 1992 (per cent)	Effective date—fortnight beginning from
37.50	August 21, 1993
37.25	September 18, 1993
37.00	October 16, 1993
36.75	November 13, 1993

The SLR reduction would augment the lendable resources of banks by a little over Rs [Rupees] 2,150 crores.

He said with the reduced monetisation of the fiscal deficit, the reduction in the inflation rate and with a view to carrying forward the financial sector reform, it had been decided to reduce the cash reserve ratio (CRR). The CRR to be maintained by scheduled commercial banks (excluding regional rural banks) would be reduced from 15.0 per cent to 14.0 per cent in two phases of 0.5 percentage point each.

Lending rate categories: To rationalise lending rates of scheduled commercial banks, it has been decided to reduce the four categories to three according to the size of the credit limit by merging the first two slabs in the existing structure. Effective April 8, 1993, the limits under the General Line of Credit I (GLC I) provided by the RBI to NABARD [National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development] for short-term seasonal agricultural operations was enhanced in January 1993 from Rs.2,700 crores to Rs.3,100 crores. Now it has been decided to enhance further the limits under GLC (I) from Rs. 3,100 crores to Rs. 3,300 crores. This would

result in improved flow of credit to small borrowers in the agricultural sector.

CRR on Net Demand and time liabilities (per cent)	Effective date—fortnight beginning from
14.5	April 17, 1993
14.0	May 15, 1993

Size of credit limit	Existing rates	New rates (effective April 8, 1993)
	(per cent per annum)	
Up to and inclusive of Rs. 7,500	11.5	12.0
Over Rs. 7,500 and up to Rs. 25,000	13.5	
Over Rs. 25,000 up to Rs. 2 lakhs	16.5	16.5
Over Rs. 2 lakhs	17.0	17.0
	(Minimum)	(Minimum)

As regards export credit, the RBI Governor said that the export refinance base would remain unchanged, but the accelerator would be reduced from 110 per cent to 100 per cent for rupee refinance and from 120 per cent to 100 per cent for dollar denominated refinance.

He said authorised dealers would be allowed to rediscount export bills abroad at rates linked to international interest rates.

To rationalise term deposit rates of Non-Resident (External) Rupee Accounts (NRE Accounts) in accordance with the domestic deposit rates, from April 8, 1993, term deposit rates for NRE accounts for maturity of 46 days to three years and above would be reduced by one percentage point from the existing 'not exceeding 13.0 per cent per annum' to 'not exceeding 12.0 per cent per annum'. The revised rates would be applicable only to fresh deposits and renewals.

**New FCNR [Foreign Currency Non-Resident] Scheme:** The RBI Governor said that a new Foreign Currency (Non-Resident) Accounts (Banks) Scheme would be introduced. The salient features, as in the case of the existing FCNR Scheme, include repatriation of funds to be freely permitted to foreign currency. The RBI will not provide exchange rate guarantee to banks for deposits under the new scheme, but it would be provided to depositors by the authorised dealers and the exchange risk would be borne by the banks. The deposit rates would be identical to those prescribed for the existing FCNR scheme.

The deposits under the new scheme would be fully exempted from maintenance of CRR and SLR requirements and so these liabilities would not form part of net demand and time liabilities for the purpose of reserve requirements. Lending out of resources mobilised under the Scheme would not be subject to any lending rate stipulations and lending of resources mobilised would

not be considered as part of net bank credit for determining priority sector lending.

Minimum margins for loans against shares and debentures would be reduced from 75 per cent to 50 per cent and the ceiling for such bankwise credit as of October 9, 1991 removed. This was done in view of the substantial decline in share prices, he said.

In view of the improved price-output situation relating to a number of sensitive commodities, the following changes are being made from April 8, in selective credit controls:

(i) **Minimum margins**—The minimum margins on bank advances against paddy/rice, wheat, pulses 'other foodgrains' oilseeds and vegetable oils will be reduced across-the-board by 15 percentage points.

(ii) **Level of credit ceilings**—For commodities where there is a stipulation of the level of credit ceiling based on the three-year period 1988-89 through 1990-91 (November-October), the reference period is being brought forward to the three-year period 1989-90 through 1991-92 (November-October) and the level of credit ceilings is being raised by 15 percentage points.

He said that banks can issue Certificates of Deposit (CDs) equivalent to 10 per cent of the fortnightly average outstanding aggregate deposits in 1991-92.

Foreign banks to achieve an overall priority sector target of 32 per cent of net bank credit, but will be allowed to include export credit as priority sector lending.

**Package for SSI sector:** The RBI Governor said that considering the contribution of the small-scale industries (SSI) sector to overall industrial production, exports and employment and recognising the need to give a fillip to this sector, a special package of measures has been devised to ensure adequate and timely credit to this sector. While doing so, the recommendations of the Committee to examine the adequacy of institutional credit to the SSI sector and related aspects headed by Mr. P.R. Nayak and other factors were taken into account. Banks should draw annual budget on a 'bottom up' basis. Now SSI units with credit requirements of below Rs.50 lakhs would get 20 per cent of their annual turnover as working capital finance with five per cent of their turnover brought in as margin money. Other measures such as creation of a grievances redress machinery and working capital finance for companies marketing SSI products are also introduced.

A Securities Trading Corporation of India would be set up mainly to foster the development of a secondary market in Government dated securities and public sector bonds. It could also hold short-term money market assets such as Treasury Bills as part of its liquidity management.

The corporation would have an initial paid-up capital of Rs [Rupees] 500 crores and the ownership would be broadbased covering the RBI, commercial banks, cooperative banks, financial institutions, mutual funds and public sector units.

As regards the opening of private banks, the RBI Governor said that they had so far received four applications.

He said that the State Bank of India [SBI] could go to the market to raise capital as they did not need any change in the legal framework. As regards other nationalised banks, a legislative change was required before they could approach the capital market.

In reply to a question on securities scam, Dr. Rangarajan said that yet another report of the Janakiraman committee would be published soon. About the complaints against the operations of foreign banks, he said that the RBI was looking into them.

### Correspondent on Politics Behind Loan Refusals

93AS0824 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
12 Apr 93 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, April 11—Political considerations more than economics seem to have compelled the Government to opt out of another loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the current year. Having refused the balance World Bank assistance for the Narmada dam project, the Government last week made it clear that it was not keen on seeking the enhanced assistance from the IMF as had been indicated earlier.

The "directive" to the Finance Ministry to avoid another loan seems to have come from the top leadership of the country. Even the decision not to use the balance assistance for the Narmada project is reported to have been taken at the level of the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, who is keen to avoid any criticism that the upturn in the economy is based on foreign funds or that the Government is bowing to the dictates of the international financial institutions.

Pointed reference: In this regard, sources draw attention to the Prime Minister's pointed reference to the borrowings by the country at the political rally immediately after the Surajkund session of the AICC [All India Congress Committee] late last month, where he went into a detailed explanation on why it was necessary to take loans and why the conditionalities had to be accepted. He also emphasised on the aspect that it was not unusual to borrow and that India had borrowed money in the past and had paid back the loans as well.

According to these sources, with general elections very much likely before the scheduled date in 1996, the Prime Minister is eager to project the turn-about on the economic front, particularly from the situation in which the economy was when the present Government took office, as the major achievement of his Government. This is also aimed at hitting out at the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and to show that party as one obsessed with religion at the cost of the development of the country. In

this, Mr. Rao does not want to be robbed of any credit and is keen to discount the criticism that the buoyancy in the economy is based on the borrowings from the IMF and the World Bank.

In keeping with the intention of the Prime Minister, the Finance Ministry has worked out an appropriate arrangement with the IMF to safeguard the economy in the current financial year without going in for the proposed assistance of \$7 billions under the Extended Fund Facility (EFF) which attracts strong conditionalities. To a large extent, this has been facilitated by the fact that the foreign exchange reserves are quite comfortable at a level of \$6.4 billions which by themselves will provide a cushion against any adverse developments on the balance of payments front.

Three vital factors: For the Finance Ministry officials, there are three factors which could jeopardise the balance of payments position. First, and the most critical, will be a possible failure on the export front. In case this happens, the trade deficit could shoot up to unmanageable levels and even debt repayment will be difficult. However, it is also accepted that in case exports fail to take off, the international financial institutions can hardly help and only domestic policy changes could ensure a pick-up.

Besides, with the sorting out of the rouble debt problem with the Russian Federation, there is every possibility of exports to the former Soviet republics going up once again which would reflect positively on the foreign trade performance. In fact, the poor performance on the export front in 1992-93 is attributed largely to the sharp decline in exports to this region which brought down the overall export growth substantially.

The second uncertain factor is in case of petroleum imports. With the full convertibility of the rupee on the trade front, apprehensions have been expressed that the foreign reserves position could suddenly turn adverse in case of a shoot up in international crude oil prices. This factor has, however, been taken care of by the Finance Ministry which has worked out a safety net arrangement with the IMF in the event of such a happening. This safety net could be in the form of a Contingency Compensatory Financing Facility (CCFF) from the IMF since oil has been included in the CCFF eligibility list after the Gulf war.

A similar arrangement could be worked out in case of a monsoon failure this year which might compel the country to go in for food imports. While the exchange reserves will be adequate to take care of marginal imports, in case of a major crop failure, the CCFF could be worked out since food imports are also on the eligibility list.

The third risk factor is in case of a flood of imports with the liberalisation of the customs rates. Here too, the

experience of the first month after the budget has been quite satisfactory as there has been no run on the rupee and instead the banks are flush with foreign currency, reserves with few takers. Ministry officials also feel that with the imports now linked to the value of the dollar, the importers would be prudent in their purchases and bring in only those items which could get them adequate returns. In other words, the possibility of indiscriminate imports is practically ruled out.

Confident: On the whole, Finance Ministry officials are confident of managing the balance of payments position this year without any fresh major loan from the IMF, particularly because the international institution has agreed to stand by India in case of any exigency. This has also helped the Ministry to abide by the decision of the political leadership to avoid any major international borrowing for the moment.

**Defense Panel Told of Progress in Weaponry****Fighter Plane**

93AS0805A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 Apr 93 p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 1—The first roll-out and test-flight of the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) prototype is now expected six months ahead of schedule in June 1996. On the missile technology front, efforts are under way to conduct the next launch of the indigenously-developed Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) "Agni" within this year.

This was revealed by the scientific adviser to the defence minister, Dr A.P.Z. Abdul Kalam, at the defence consultative committee meeting held here last evening. The meeting was chaired by the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, who also holds the defence portfolio.

Terming the progress made in the full-scale engineering development of the LCA as good, Dr Kalam provided details of the strict monitoring and review mechanisms for the LCA and listed the progress made on the missile technology programme. The first 12 prototypes of the LCA are to be fitted with the American F-111 Northrop engines.

The acceptance of the Main Battle Tank (MBT) Arjun for service induction into the army was hailed as an important milestone along with the user trials of the medium-range Surface to Air Missile (SAM), 'Trishul' and the surface to surface 'Prithvi' missiles as also the limited-series production of the pilotless target aircraft (PTA).

In addition to the launch of "Agni," Dr Kalam also announced that further trials of the anti-tank 'Nag' and the short-range surface to air 'Akash' missiles were also scheduled for this year. All these programmes are indigenously developed.

Dr Kalam also cited a number of technological breakthroughs in various other defence fields like, computers, signal processing, metallurgy and composite material areas which face technology denials by other countries.

While lauding the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) on its performance and the development of technology for the defence forces, members of the consultative committee stressed that the government should provide full budgetary support to all the DRDO programmes and projects.

**Arjun Tank, Missiles**

93AS0805B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 Apr 93 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, April 1 (PTI)—Arjun, the country's main battle tank (MBT) has been accepted by Army for induction and user trials for the surface-to-surface

Prithvi missile and ground-to-air Trishul missile would be held in coming months prior to their induction into the armed forces.

This information was given to the members of the parliamentary consultative committee attached to the defence ministry at its meeting held last night under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao.

DRDO officials told the committee members that the next test flight of the country's intermediate range ballistic missile, Agni, would also be held later this year along with further tests of the third generation anti-tank missile Nag and multi target ground-to-air Akash missile.

The second test of the 2,500 km range Agni missile with a higher payload conducted last year had failed to meet total requirements. The committee members were told that efforts were on to rectify errors and conduct the test of the prestigious missile as soon as possible.

The scientific adviser to the defence ministry and father of the country's missile programme, Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, gave a detailed overview to the committee of the country's missile programme as well as a review of the other prestigious armament projects like the MBT and light combat aircraft (LCA) project.

Dr Kalam, according to defence ministry sources, informed the members that progress in the second phase of the full-scale engineering development of the LCA was good and indicated that the first roll was planned to occur six months ahead of schedule, in June 1996.

The DRDO secretary said the organisation was following a strict monitoring and review mechanism in these prestigious projects and had adopted a consortium approach of simultaneous development of all sub-systems.

Dr Kalam cited a number of technological breakthroughs achieved by defence scientists in areas like computers, signal processing, metallurgy and composite material where the country was denied technological know-how by other countries.

The scientific adviser told the committee members that there were large spin-offs from the DRDO research work and technological breakthrough for the civilian sector also.

Citing an example, he explained that water calipers made of composite materials could be used for artificial limbs and in avalanche detection.

The members while congratulating the DRDO for its outstanding performance said the government should provide full budgetary support to the programmes and projects of the DRDO and in no case succumb to any pressure to dilute or slow down any project.

### Court Rules Penal Code Above Muslim Law

93AS0828 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
9 Apr 93 p 1

[Text] Bombay, April 8—The Bombay high court has held that the provisions of the Indian Majority Act and the Indian Penal Code (IPC) take precedence over Muslim personal law and has convicted Daud Hasan Mhalungkar of kidnapping a minor girl, even though he subsequently married her.

Mhalungkar was friends with a minor, Khatija, resulting in her pregnancy. The girl was removed from the lawful guardianship of her mother and brought to Bombay. The couple subsequently got married.

The Ratnagiri sessions judge convicted him of kidnapping and sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment. An appeal came to be filed before the high court.

Mr G.R. Rege, counsel for Mhalungkar, contended that Muslim personal law entitled a minor girl who had attained puberty to marry a man of her choice.

Counsel, therefore, contended that his client had not committed any offence. Taking away the girl from lawful guardianship was only an act preparatory to marriage.

Mr Justice H.H. Kantharia and Mr Justice N.P. Chhapalgaonkar held that even though a minor Muslim girl could marry a person of her choice on attaining puberty, Mhalungkar had committed the offence of enticing her away from lawful guardianship. This was an offence under section 363 of the IPC.

The judges said that to ignore the provisions of law would mean that the protection given to minor girls under the IPC would be denied to Muslim women.

They pointed out that in the absence of a specific exception, personal law would not override statutory provisions. The judges held that a girl could not be kidnapped even if she was permitted to marry under personal law.

The bench, however, held that an useful purpose would be served by making Mhalungkar serve the two-year sentence. Thirteen years had passed from the date of the offence. The convict and Khatija were living happily with their children and a lenient law was therefore necessary.

Upholding Mhalungkar's conviction, the judges sentenced him to a day's imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. The convict was asked to surrender before the sessions judge within 15 days.

Mr Rege with Mr K.S. Ghag appeared for Mhalungkar while Mr S.B. Patil represented the state of Maharashtra.

### Rawatbhata Nuclear Power Generator Debated

93P50166A Bombay *NAV BHARAT TIMES* in Hindi  
9 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by: Sangamitra Desai Gadekar and Surendra Gadekar, Activists in Nuclear-Free Campaign: "Rawatbhata Nuclear Power-House: Darkness in the Residence of Light"]

[Text] Rawatbhata Nuclear Power-House has been a contested facility for the past two years. Situated six to seven kilometers south of the small town of Rawatbhata, two units of this power-house have been in operation since 1973, and 1980 respectively. In the nearby towns incidences of maiming, and certain diseases have increased enough to become topics of discussion. Reports were published, films made, and in the Lok Sabha a lot of discussion has occurred. The government claimed that the decrease in the health of these villagers, was due to "blind-beliefs, malnourishment, ignorance, and filth." They have even said that these diseases have nothing anything to do with nuclear radiation. While this debate was going on, the revolutionary school Vedachi G. Surat which was completed in 1991, conducted a survey under the direction of the Committee Opposing the Rawatbhata Nuclear Pollution. There were two objectives in conducting the survey: 1). To examine the health of the people living in the surrounding villages. 2). To examine how beneficial an extended developmental program has been to the people of this region.

Procedure: Five villages to the east and north of the nuclear reactor were targeted by the survey. Those villages that fell within a circumference of four to ten km in these directions, were selected for the survey. The idea behind choosing these villages was that, during the monsoons, the maximum effect of aerial pollution would be on this region. Four villages 40-60 km south of the reactor, whose population, cultural, social, and economic status were similar to the near-by villages, were selected for comparison. Two volunteers per house went to each village to gather information. After data were gathered, the diseased were examined. The survey statistics were analyzed by a computer. In this survey, various people cooperated. First and foremost, without the loving, accommodating hospitality of the people of Rawatbhata and Rampura, this survey would not have been possible. We are also obliged to those volunteers, who came especially for this survey from as far away as Delhi, Hoshangabad, Rampura, Baroda, Surat, Vedachi, Gwalior, and Ahmedabad and gave freely of their valuable time.

Consequences Congenital deformities were prolific in the villages around the nuclear facility. This feature was even more pronounced in very small children. In the children born after the two units went into operation, these types of defects were all too commonly seen. The procreative and reproductory capabilities of the people living around the nuclear facility also seemed to have suffered. There is strong evidence of this in the stillbirths, deformities, spontaneous abortions, and in the increasing number of

infants dying within a day of their birth. The increase in the number of childless couples in the nearby villages also supports this possibility. In the nearby villages in some cases, even after four years of consummating the marriage, a woman had not been able to conceive. Also the number of women who had repeated abortions because of reproductive problems, or had stillbirths doubled in comparison to those in far away villages. Along with reproduction, peoples' immunity also seems to have suffered. In the villages near the nuclear facility prolonged fever, incurable skin diseases, eye diseases, weakness, and digestive disorders increased. The incidence of tumors was six times more in the nearby villages. It was shocking that the many people who got these diseases got them at a very early age. For example, ten-year-old Barma had bone cancer, and a 15-year-old had cataracts. The past two years' birth and death records show that more children were born disabled. The age of persons at death from the nearer villages was, on an average 12 years less. That is, they died younger. Death doubled because of cancer also, but since the data collected was not enough, no statistical analysis could be done.

It is also surprising to note that in some matters, there is no significant difference between the two regions. For example, there was no detectable difference in the number of people rendered handicapped because of accidents, or in the incidences of ordinary fevers, breathing difficulties, or diabetes. Even in polio the count seemed similar, but in the children younger than 11 years of age, the number afflicted with polio seemed to be double in the nearer villages. In both places, a little more than 70% of the people were uneducated, and only 0.2% had studied beyond the twelfth grade. Therefore, it is not likely that we would see increased illiteracy only around the nuclear facility. The food consumed in both places also were similar and generally compared with what is consumed nationwide, and so to say that excessive malnourishment is the reason also does not hold. Since less than two percent of the nearer villagers use the water from the polluted lake in this region, how can we make that the cause of such widespread ill-health? Infact, the Government's findings seem baseless. Under the extended electricity supply plan, only 20 percent of the nearer villages have been electrified, whereas 52 percent of the far away villages have electricity! Is this what is referred to as: "Darkness in the Residence of Light?"

### Dissemination of Science News in Regional Languages

93P50165A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*  
16 Apr 93 p 4

[Commentary by Harish Agrawal: "Indian Languages and Communication of Science"]

[Text] Whether we are reporting on scientific investigations or writing descriptive exposes on the evils of blind-faith, it may be considered popular scientific writing. The reference here to "popular" science writing is to such writing in the languages which the many

different peoples of our country are able to comprehend the contents. Although the effort to popularize science has existed for a long time in the country, it has gained a new momentum in the past few years. It is fortunate that some scientific agencies of the Government are starting to show an interest in this matter. Many books have been published, lectures arranged, and many awards have been given. Akashvani [All-India Radio], has justified its mission by broadcasting scientific programs in regional languages. Based on how much it has done, it will not be wrong to call it "Science-vani."

But, when we consider the realm of popular public-communication, news media, and journals, the situation is not satisfactory. Magazines do not seem to have scientific reporters who could report on the news of scientific investigators, or write a feature on the proceedings of any laboratory. Our complaint here is with the popular regional language-magazines. It cannot be said that there is not enough in the Indian science scene to write about or, that there is no place for it in news-publications. Even if that were to be so, do we at least write about our health matters? Do we write about the benefits of our vegetarian diet, or exactly what education our children get? I remember very well hearing Mr. Ajney say to a convention of scientific writers, "Our children suffer from a lack of mind-expansion because their education is in English."

There is so much knowledge in excess of that which can be fit into school and college books and laboratories that can reach us only by means of the media. These deal with the issues concerning the current World: What things harm us? Are scientists involved in manufacturing weapons? And do they lack the time to come out of their laboratories to inform people of new developments? It is also true that the Government's scientists cannot divulge all their plans by making comments while the work is in progress. That is why it is the responsibility of the science writer, who can write openly in newspapers on some of these matters. They say that there has been an on-going 50 year campaign for critical science communication in the West. There, the science-reporters have assumed also a social role because of the silence of scientists. The chairman of the Indian Association of Science-Writers, Professor Dharendra Sharma, feels that in India there has never been a strong campaign for proper science writing. That is why there is an anxiety that any critical and evaluative scientific/technological writing might be mistakenly labeled as non-scientific or even anti-national. Therefore, in giving a free rein to expository writing in science and technology, without thinking through the consequences, there is the risk of irresponsibility, corruption, and failure entering our scientific plans. There was a Science-Writers' convention in the capital last month, in which there was a lot of debate on these issues. It was the first of its kind. Science-writers there showed an amazing enthusiasm. They debated discussion of science in news-papers, radio,



Doordarshan [TV], and in the Parliament, and recommended formulating a national policy on communication of science and technology matters. The executive director of the nation's biggest scientific establishment CSIR [Council of Scientific and Industrial Research], Dr. Srikrishna Joshi, said that it is very important that information regarding science and technology reach the common man. For this, it is important to increase cooperation between scientists and science reporters. There is a need to educate our legislators, non-scientific intellectuals, and the general public, in science and technology matters. Newspapers, journals, and magazines should devote 10-15 percent of their space to science. Dr. Joshi said that the science-writers and reporters who specialize in following experiments in laboratories should be given information based on which they could write about new scientific research.

Our newspapers are full of reporting on sensational matters like crime and politics, but there is hardly anything of scientific significance. Although politics has its own place of significance, it should not be allowed to completely take over, and the usual people's news fill up the pages of our national dailies. Is this to give science its due? The news of science, conferences, and lectures, significant to the thousands of our citizens who are scientists or otherwise connected with science, never reaches them.

Therefore, it gives us pleasure to note the current advancement of writers of science in regional languages. They are writing, and their books are getting published. This fact surfaced in the Exhibition of Science Writer's Tools, held recently in New Delhi. There is a flourishing group of science-writers in Hindi, but even now there is a shortage of scientific correspondents to newspapers. Why do they not employ scientific correspondents much like the political, sports, and business correspondents? It is also wrong to say that whatever gets printed in English is the only science-reporting. According to Ashok Mahajan, a science-writer, the 22 page Sunday issue of an English-language daily contained international and national news and information on arts, music, dance, film-festival, business, and sports, but not even a single item on science could be found even after much searching. He feels that publishers of newspapers sometimes publish science, when they feel like it, but there is

no systematic, concerted effort at informing in science. If we want to bring about a scientific viewpoint in the readership, then our national dailies will have to publish science-related news permanently, and regularly.

There are no significant, popular, science-related books published in this country, inspite of there being more than 400 scientific establishments, and over a hundred universities. It is true that CSIR, National Scientific Communication Council, etc., are publishing science publications of popular appeal, but they are too few. Why are these not selling in the thousands? The enthusiasm of the writer dies because of this. They are not even properly compensated. The question arises whether we are trying to publish in distrust and deceit, making just the earning of money the main objective, or, if we have set out to produce books that could stimulate and strengthen a scientific outlook.

Science-writers say that the general public should be informed in simple language about health, agriculture, etc. Science-writer Dr. Ramesh Dutt Sharma says that even now up to 80 percent of agricultural know-how has not made it to the fields from the laboratories. Who will do this work? He says, "Without the worldwide green armies of agricultural publishers, a poor-hungry World will find survival hard." Satellite-communication has spread a network of information. Even now radio is a powerful medium of communication for thousands of our villages. There is the view that radio can spread knowledge of dreaded diseases like AIDS, and that a series called AIDS-RADIO can be started.

If the science-writers were to demand 10-15 percent of the space in newspapers after all this, it could not be considered a very big demand. They desire to benefit the readership through this. They claim that to dispel the blind-beliefs, and to counter deceitful scams, the dissemination of scientific-knowledge is indispensable. One proposal recommends raising the standard of "Scientific Education" requirement to that of a full-blown "Science Mission" in the Eighth Plan. The private industrial sector should also work towards the popularization of science. If the Government adopts a policy on scientific communication, then this task could be accomplished easily. Then in addition to bringing about a scientific outlook, we would also achieve scientific literacy.